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A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM





DECLARATION of Principles

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ASSOCIATION

WE BELIEVE in God, in the Bible as the word of God, and in the separation of church and state as taught by *Jesus Christ*.

WE BELIEVE that the Ten Commandments are the law of God, and that they comprehend man's whole duty to God and man.

WE BELIEVE that the religion of Jesus Christ is founded in the law of love of God, and needs no human power to support or enforce it. Love cannot be forced.

WE BELIEVE in civil government as divinely ordained to protect men in the enjoyment of their natural rights and to rule in civil things, and that in this realm it is entitled to the respectful obedience of all.

WE BELIEVE it is the right and should be the privilege of every individual to worship or not to worship, according to the dictates of his own conscience, provided that in the exercise of this right he respects the equal rights of others.

WE BELIEVE that all religious legislation tends to unite church and state, is subversive of human right, persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of both church and state.

WE BELIEVE, therefore, that it is not within the province of civil government to legislate on religious questions.

WE BELIEVE it to be our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent religious legislation, and oppose all movements tending to unite church and state, that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty.

WE BELIEVE in the inalienable and constitutional right of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, and petition.

WE BELIEVE in the golden rule, which says, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

*Religious Liberty Association, 6840 Eastern Avenue,
Takoma Park, Washington 12, D.C.*



LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

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EWING GALLOWAY PHOTO

ARE YOU MOVING? You should notify us in advance of any change of address, as the post office will not forward your papers to you even though you leave a forwarding address. Your compliance in this matter will save delay and expense.

LIBERTY is the successor of the AMERICAN SENTINEL, whose first number was published in 1886, at Oakland, California. Its name was changed in 1906 to LIBERTY, under which name it has been published quarterly, by the Review and Herald Publishing Association, Takoma Park, Washington 12, D.C. Entered as second-class matter, May 1, 1906, at the post office at Washington, D.C., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879. Subscription rates—one year, 60 cents; club of three subscriptions to separate addresses, \$1; five or more copies mailed by publishers to five addresses or to one address, postpaid, each 9 cents. No subscription accepted for less than one year. Remit by post office money order (payable at Washington, D.C., Post Office), express order, or draft on New York. Cash should be sent in registered letter. When a change of address is desired, both old and new addresses must be given.





FROM AN OLD PRINT

The John Bowne House in Flushing, New York, Recently Dedicated as a Shrine to Religious Tolerance

John Bowne of Flushing

**A Stalwart Colonial Upholder
of Religious Freedom**

By EDWIN ARTHUR HALL

Congressman from New York

AMERICANS HAVE COME to believe the saying, "You can't get something for nothing," but all too frequently we fail to apply it to the sacred institutions which have been handed down to us in the form of a heritage by the founders of this nation.

Our freedoms, peculiar to the United States, are an example. We are constantly dedicating something to the memory of someone, but we overlook the opportunity in daily life to perpetuate the very doctrine for which the person so honored valiantly struggled in his lifetime.

Religious freedom is no exception. If we believe we received it for nothing, we shall become careless with it and soon lose it.

Recently New York's famous Bowne House was dedicated as a shrine to religious tolerance. John

Bowne, who built the home, which in his day was a fortress for religious freedom, died two hundred and fifty years ago. He paid a price—an enormous price—to uphold the principle that in this land men should be entitled to worship Almighty God as they see fit. Now, two and a half centuries later, we dedicate a shrine to him and his doctrine, but how many of us are carrying the torch of religious tolerance which he lighted?

As we look about us in the world, we see evidences that there is no perpetual title to freedom. To be maintained, it must constantly be renewed. Elsewhere in the world we see citizens of nations gazing longingly at a padlock which they negligently failed to apply to the barn door before the horse of freedom was stolen.

A charter of October 10, 1645, issued by Governor William Kieft of the Dutch province of New Netherland, promised the founders of Flushing (New York) "the right to have and enjoy liberty of conscience."

EWING GALLOWAY

Our Frontispiece is a Typical Winter Scene in the Empire State. At the Time of Our Story, However, Back in Colonial Days, It Was Known as New Netherland and Was Governed by the Dutch

FIRST QUARTER

Within two months after the conclusion of the war with the Indians, patents for the land of Vlissingen, later known as Flushing, were granted by Governor Kieft to eighteen persons. All but one of these were English. This land is said to have originally been bought from the Indians by the Dutch for one hoe for each fifty acres.

Under the patent they were to conform to the Dutch practice elsewhere of electing twice the number of required officials with the understanding that the governor in council should make the final selection and appointment from that number.

Under the Gravesend charter, they were not only to have "free liberty of conscience," but they had the right to worship "without molestation or disturbance from any magistrate or magistrates or any other ecclesiastical minister that may pretend to jurisdiction over them."

Prior to that time the thought prevailed generally that the church of the Dutch should be the official church of the area which later became New York. The founders of Flushing were tolerant. They accepted people of all religious faiths.

It will be remembered that two years earlier the Articles of Confederation of the United Colonies of New England had provided, "The said United Colonies for themselves and their posterities do jointly and severally hereby enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offence and defence, mutual advice and succor upon all just occasions both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel."

The days of mortal man are numbered and one well-meaning administrator may be replaced by one less tolerant. Such was the case in New York. Governor Kieft was succeeded by Governor Peter Stuyvesant, who had a particular dislike for the Quakers.

At the age of twenty-two John Bowne came to the New World from Derbyshire, England, with his father, Thomas Bowne. That was in 1649. In England, a few years earlier, a twenty-year-old lad named George Fox had been telling his friends that "man became in very truth the Temple of God; he cannot be born in sin, and needs neither priest nor ritual to restore him from sin or to bring him into communication with his loving Creator."

His friends accepted the idea, and soon the young man was preaching about it. His followers were later referred to as Quakers. In 1657 eleven Quaker preachers were among the passengers on the ship *Woodhouse* when it sailed for Boston. The ship strayed from its course and eventually sailed into Long Island Sound. Five of the preachers remained at New York.

The group visited Governor Stuyvesant and reportedly found him at that time moderate "both in

words and actions." That did not last. The leader of the group was Robert Hodgson. They went to Flushing to carry on their ministerial efforts. Hodgson was arrested for his preaching, thrown into prison, and ordered to pay a heavy fine. When he refused to pay, he was publicly flogged and was banished from the province after Stuyvesant's sister intervened.

This action on the part of Stuyvesant, who is said to have been prodded by Thomas Willett, only brought more converts to the Quaker cause in Flushing. This irked the governor to the point of violating the earlier charter by issuing an edict against harboring Quakers. Residents of Long Island were not wholly in agreement with the governor. With some, the action was looked upon with favor, but among others it was identified as an act of intolerance.

His edict brought the now-famous Flushing Remonstrance. Twenty-eight freeholders of Flushing and two from near-by Jamaica penned their signatures to this document of freedom which had been written by Edward Heart, town clerk of Flushing. It was carried to the governor by Tobias Feake, the sheriff. The remonstrators declared that in Holland the "law of love, peace, and liberty" was even extended to "Turks, and Egyptians," and they therefore could not condemn the people called Quakers "neither stretch out our hands against them to punish, banish, or persecute them. . . . That which is of God will stand, and that which is of man will come to nothing. . . . Therefore if any of these said persons come in love unto us we cannot in conscience lay violent hands upon them but give them free egress and regress into our towns and houses. . . . This is according to the patent and charter of our town, . . . which we are not willing to infringe or violate."

The Flushing Remonstrance vexed the governor, and his first act was to order the arrest of Town Clerk Heart and Sheriff Feake and two other signers. The clerk got off with payment of costs in his case, and the sheriff was ousted from office and given his choice of paying a fine or going into banishment. To top it off, the governor declared a fast day so that the people might throw off what he called "the new, unheard-of, and abominable heresy." By this time John Bowne had moved to Flushing, purchased considerable land, married Sheriff Feake's daughter,* and in 1661 he built what is now a part of the famous Bowne House. Out of curiosity Bowne attended some of Hodgson's meetings and soon became a member of the Society of Friends.

In 1661 Stuyvesant became so embittered at the progress being made by the Flushing Quakers that he issued another edict—more rigid than the former,

* Some authorities say that he married the daughter of Lieutenant Robert Feake.



FROM AN OLD PRINT

The Oak Trees in Flushing, New York, Under Which George Fox, the Quaker Leader, Preached When He Visited New Netherland

and in it he ordained that there should be no public exercise of religion except the established religion (Dutch). This prompted Bowne to invite the Quakers to meet in his home. During the following year he was arrested and fined 25 pounds (Flemish) after having been found guilty at Fort Amsterdam and ordered to cease holding religious meetings in his home.

Bowne not only refused to pay the fine but also refused to renounce his right to religious freedom. This brought for him a term in the dungeon with bread and water as his diet. One writer reports that he was kept there for four months, during which time "the door was frequently left open, the authorities hoping he would escape and leave the colony."

Stuyvesant decided to "make an example" of Bowne, and he ordered him sent to the headquarters of the West India Company in Holland for trial. The directors of the company found themselves in some embarrassment over the case, because at the very time they were holding out New Netherland (New York) as a haven for "those of tender conscience" in England "or elsewhere oppressed."

In an attempt to "cushion" the case the directors handed Bowne a paper to sign. In reply Bowne wrote his own answer, which parallels Patrick Henry's famous "Give me liberty, or give me death" speech. He said:

"Friends, the paper drawn up for me to subscribe I have perused and weighed, and do find the same not according to that engagement to me through one of your members, viz.: that he or you would do therein by me as you would be done unto, and not otherwise. But, truly, I cannot think that you did in sober earnest ever think I would subscribe to any such thing, it being the very thing for which I rather chose freely to suffer want of the company of my

dear wife and children, imprisonment of my person, the ruin of my estate in my absence there, and the loss of my goods here, than to yield or consent to such an unreasonable thing as you hereby would enjoin me unto. I have with patience and moderation waited several weeks expecting justice from you, but behold an addition to my oppression in the measure I receive. Wherefore I have this now to request for you, that the Lord will not lay this to your charge, but to give eyes to see and hearts to do justice, that you may find mercy with the Lord in the day of judgment."

Bowne was eventually acquitted, and the directors at Amsterdam sent Stuyvesant the following decision:

"We, finally, did see from your last letter, that you had exiled and transported hither a certain Quaker named John Bowne, and although it is our cordial desire that similar and other sectarians might not be found there, yet as the contrary seems to be the case, we doubt very much if rigorous proceedings against them ought not to be discontinued except you intend to check and destroy your population, which, however, in the youth of your existence, ought rather to be encouraged by all possible means. Wherefore it is our opinion that some connivance would be useful that the consciences of men, at least, ought ever to remain free and unshackled. Let every one be unmolested as long as he is modest, as long as his conduct in a political sense is unimpeachable, as long as he does not disturb others or oppose the government. This maxim of moderation has always been the guide of the magistrates of the Netherlands, and the consequence has been that from every land people have flocked to this asylum. Tread thus in their steps, and we doubt not you will be blessed."

Bowne returned to Flushing and in 1672 entertained George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, in his Bowne Street home.

His acquittal ended religious persecution in New Netherland, all because he was a man of his convictions, and those convictions were that all men should have the right to worship God as they choose.

Dedication of a house on Bowne Street is not a sufficient memorial to Bowne, the crusader for religious freedom, nor is the setting aside of "Red Hill" sufficient for the cause of Patrick Henry.

Seeds of tolerance planted by these and other brave men of their hue in the early days of this great land must be constantly cultivated to keep out the weeds. There can be no denying that the tares exist, even in the land of liberty. Only daily, living memorials to Bowne, Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Madison, and others, in the form of eternal vigilance, will preserve for us that sacred heritage which we all love and cherish.



The Founding of Maryland by Lord Baltimore in 1634. A Cross Was Erected on St. Clement's Island

Maryland and Tolerance

An Address Delivered Before the Maryland Historical Society by Mr. Truman a Few Days Before He Became President of the United States

IT IS A SPECIAL PLEASURE to be here in Baltimore tonight with the Maryland Historical Society. It is an extra privilege to be here with my good friend and colleague, Senator George L. Radcliffe, president of your distinguished society. Your society has already completed a century of service and education.

The free State of Maryland has a glorious history, which must be carefully preserved to inspire other Americans to revere the past and to face boldly the future. Of all the thirteen original States, Maryland stood out as a real champion of tolerance and freedom. While many other States began as a haven for religious freedom for one faith, Maryland extended that freedom, not merely to those of the faith of Lord Baltimore, but also to those of all other religions as well. Truly, Maryland became and has re-

mained the free State, the progressive and liberal link between the North and the South.

Fully one hundred years before the father of our country, George Washington, was born, King Charles I granted to another George called Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, a charter to all land between the Potomac River and the 40th parallel. After much dispute the latter boundary finally was moved slightly south to become our famous Mason-Dixon line, which *post-bellum* good will has gradually transformed into a bridge of friendship instead of a border between intolerant opposition.

It is difficult to realize that Maryland is one of the smaller States of the Union, with only seven being smaller in size. This is merely another classic example of the importance of a State far beyond its physical size. For Maryland, the great champion of

real democracy, has made its historical influence felt a tremendous distance beyond its borders, just as great ideals cannot be confined to physical limits.

You members of the Maryland Historical Society also are rendering a lasting service far beyond the borders of Maryland. All America can well be inspired by the annals of your historic State, by the deeds of your inspiring leaders, who had the courage and fortitude to stand boldly for tolerance when it required real character to withstand the passion of religious bigotry.

At the nation's capital, in front of the Archives Building on Pennsylvania Avenue, there stands a monument under which is inscribed the statement, "What Is Past Is Prologue." Those five words describe, as well as I know how, what you members of the Maryland Historical Society realized years ago. Truly, all history is but an introduction to the future. The greatest tragedies in history have been made by people who did not read and analyze history.

History, of course, does not actually repeat itself. Unfortunately, certain people do, however, repeat history in its less happy chapters. The pages of history remain open for all to read. They stand as an eternal warning against the tragic disasters of the past. Before the world, even greater disasters may be waiting for those who will not read the record of time.

Happily, however, thoughtful people, who appreciate the real importance of history, have worked long and hard to preserve the precious heritages of the past. These act as living milestones to guide us and help avoid the mistakes of the former generations. Of course, every generation must meet new problems in light of new developments, but surely they must profit by the experience of the past.

Science informs us that the preservation of experience is one of the basic differences between rational human beings and animals. The former should profit by the history of their race, tragic though it may be, while the latter must learn anew, the hard way, with each new generation.

As rational human beings, there surely can be little of more importance than that of preserving the precious heritage of the past. This is the one secure record which will help us find our way into the difficult future. All available records seem to indicate that the future will be what we Americans make it.

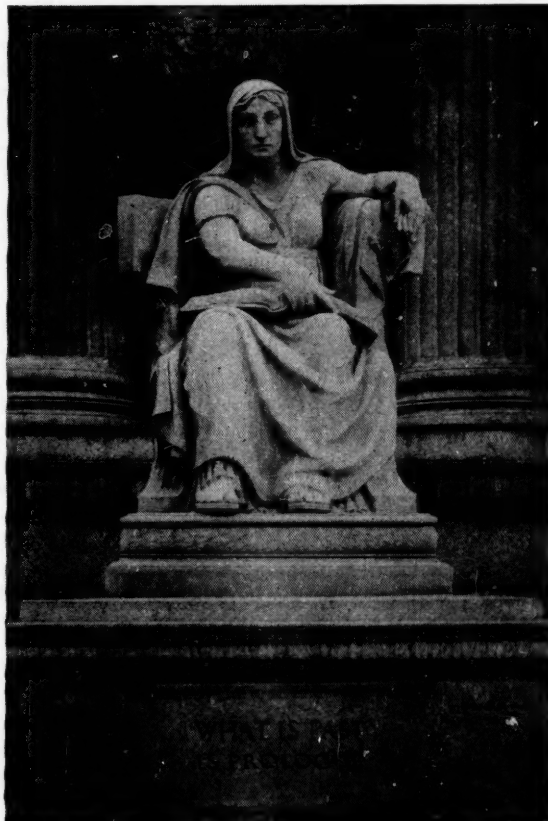
America is confronted today with the greatest problem in its long history. In colonial days we struggled for survival. At the present we are charged with the grave responsibility of leading the entire

world to a sound order, an order which will guide suffering humanity to the haven long sought, the haven which the colonials of Calvert's day thought they would find, and did find, along the shores of the Chesapeake.

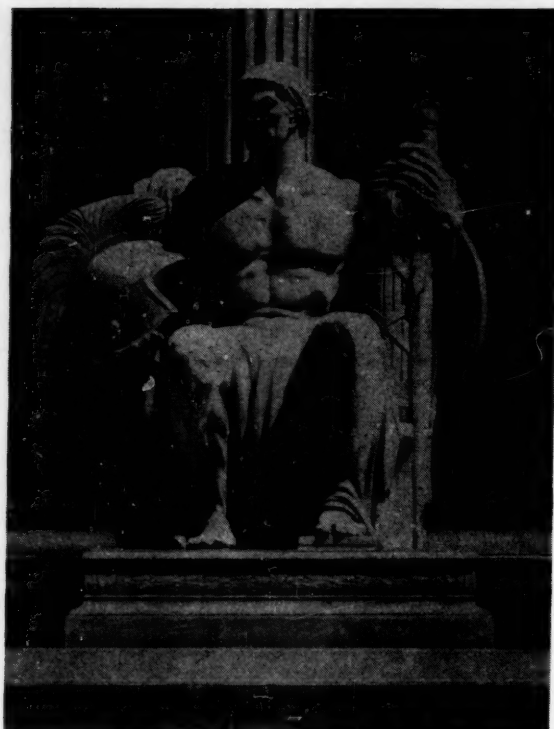
At no time in the entire history of the world is there a greater call for tolerance. The fires of bigotry and hatred have been fanned for years by the enemies of democracy. The poison of intolerance has again been injected into the social blood stream of America. There is no lasting cure except that found in the impartial records of history. Only dispassionate and accurate information can lead mankind back to the road to reason.

When enemy agents are working overtime to confuse the issues, and to deny the facts of democratic vitality, the important service of historical societies can hardly be overestimated. For decades millions of people have been misled by the propaganda of our enemies. They hate tolerant people. There remains only one cure for the deadly disease suffered by these people. It is the cold light of sound reason. The diatribe of demagogues cannot withstand the impartial scrutiny of students of history.

Your contributions of the past century to help Americans retain a proper perspective are of lasting value. We as a nation have made many mistakes



On the Left of the Portico on the Pennsylvania Avenue Side of the National Archives Building in the Nation's Capital is a Figure Representing "Future." She is Lifting Her Eyes from the Empty Pages of the Open Book She Holds and Gazes With Profound Contemplation Into the Future. Inscribed on the Pedestal Under This Figure is a Quotation From Shakespeare, "What Is Past Is Prologue"



NATIONAL ARCHIVES

This Figure on the Constitution Avenue Side of the National Archives Building in Washington Personifies That Eternal Vigilance Which Truly Is the Price of Liberty

which could have been avoided if we had had the adult wisdom obtained only by hard *experience*—a common synonym for history.

It is obvious that we should not expect all Americans to profit from the experience of the past. It is the rare individual indeed who has the intellectual fortitude to rise above personal experiences. That is where the historical societies of the entire world may make contributions, which cannot be measured by material standards. Ultimately, if we do not profit by the past, we are doomed to repeat mistakes in the future.

The future may be far more complicated than any historical society would dare to predict. Your real contribution consists in presenting the facts of the past. The past is the potent key to the future. There is frequently fundamental difference of opinion as to historical events, and the proper evaluation of these events is possible only in the clear light of truth. For sound progress we must face the facts.

We of the democratic world have many disagreeable facts to face. Our enemies cannot be conquered by force alone. We must help to re-educate them to the ideals of truth. Truth is a virtue which scientists and historians always seek. However, for years our opponents have conditioned their people against acceptance of this most simple of all virtues.

Throughout history truth has suffered under the prolonged attack of partisan propaganda. When the history of this tragic era has been written, it will reveal that many liberal souls have died to advance the ideals of truth and justice.

At no time in the annals of mankind has there been a greater need for the spirit of tolerance. The tragic failure to realize the essential necessity for practical tolerance is one of the basic failures of our time. Only the records of history will help all of us to keep our perspective and achieve harmony and brotherhood among men.

While intolerance is running rampant throughout the world, we need more friendly people, like those who first pioneered the free State of Maryland. America requires the aid of such people to guide the world to basic ideals.

In the years to come our world will have many hard problems to solve. I feel confident that Americans fully intend to have their say as to the future destiny of mankind on this shrinking planet. Americans never were prone to follow others meekly. On the contrary, history records our people usually among the leaders, especially when the public welfare is involved.

No matter how grave the postwar problems may be, I am sure that our American sense of proportion and our regard for our glorious past will see us through to victory. Like the brave pioneers of Maryland, we shall continue to do our task with characteristic American energy and enthusiasm.

The most pressing problem before us remains the winning of the war at the earliest possible moment to save precious human lives. That requires a mighty national effort and united harmony on the home front.

Surely, this is no time for petty, partisan politics. This is a time for greater national unity—for greater sacrifice for our national interests. Both winning the war and winning the peace are not partisan objectives. They are the all-essential American objectives. They must be attained if our country is to continue to exist and prosper. Let us, therefore, all close ranks and remain strongly united until these vital ends have been accomplished.

When the last gun is fired on some remote enemy stronghold, we must still continue the ceaseless crusade for a just and durable peace. When we recall the heartache and suffering caused by this world-wide conflict, we must dedicate our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor to the cause of lasting peace. This requires patience and persistence—tolerance and time. When the people of the world fully realize that the public welfare is really the supreme law, we may at last have real peace on earth—and lasting good will toward all mankind!

"A Man's a Man"

By FRANK H. YOST, Ph.D.

THERE HAS JUST BEEN CONCLUDED a terrible war of more than six years' duration. In the number of men engaged and the total military, civilian, and property damage, it will doubtless be considered the most injurious conflict in history. The losses in killed and wounded have been appalling. The total dead, military and civilian, is estimated at thirty million. It may be that as many as five million Jews alone have perished, largely because of racial and political prejudice. The amount of planned, efficient killing is awful to contemplate.

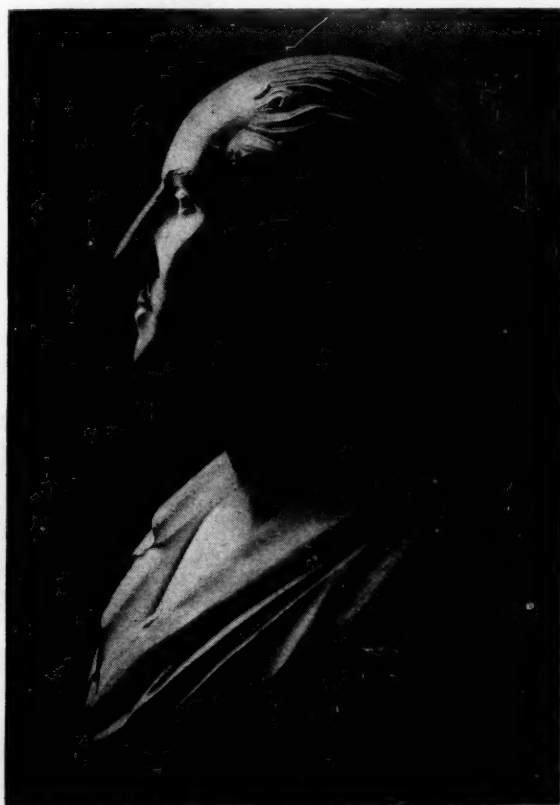
The amount of impersonal killing in this war has been one of its most arresting features. We are accustomed from centuries of warfare to men being killed by the far-flying musket or rifle bullet, or the longer ranged artillery projectile. The first World War prepared us for the aerial bomb. But the weird impersonality of the "buzz bombs" in this war has underscored war's blanking out of the individual. At the conflict's close the atomic bomb exceeded imagination in the utter impersonality of its appalling destruction of human life.

The United States has had about 300,000 men killed. Unfeeling as it may sound to say this, these are not very many among nearly 150,000,000 people. We kill that many people in this country in a few years of traffic accidents. But while we may not have been impressed by the size of the total figures for the dead, when we read the long casualty lists which appeared in our local newspapers, we received a distinct impression. There they were, the individuals who had been killed, each one named and pictured. We learned the names of the bereaved parents and of the widows and of the children orphaned. Sometimes the names became very personally real when they touched close to home. And for thousands of families they struck home. In these casualty lists we faced the cost of the war in terms of individuals. We learned that the individual counts. This must never be forgotten. The individual counts in war. He counts in peace.

The emergence of every great man from the mass of humanity is a testimony to the worth of the individual. The work of every leader of men, the career of everyone who has greatly influenced human

thinking, the life of each contributor to the progress or to the disasters that have come to the human race, is an evidence of the importance of the individual. So true is this that a whole philosophy of history, the biographical theory, has been developed, to explain history as the succession of the careers of great men. It is a testimony to the importance of the individual, to the importance of those who have escaped from the drab suppression of the mass.

Socrates was a very obscure individual as he passed his youth in the old Greek city. To many he never ceased to be a joke or an enigma. But the thinking of his mind, matured far beyond his age, has stimulated and enriched every succeeding generation. Jesus grew up in a village the very name of which called forth sneers. As an infant, He barely escaped destruction at the hands of a tyrant. But for His name's sake millions have lived nobly and died courageously. Mohammed was only a poor camel driver, but on the roster of individuals who have



"As a Young Man, George Washington Could Hardly Have Been Rated More Than a Colonial Farmer. He Became 'First in War, First in Peace, First in the Hearts of His Countrymen'."

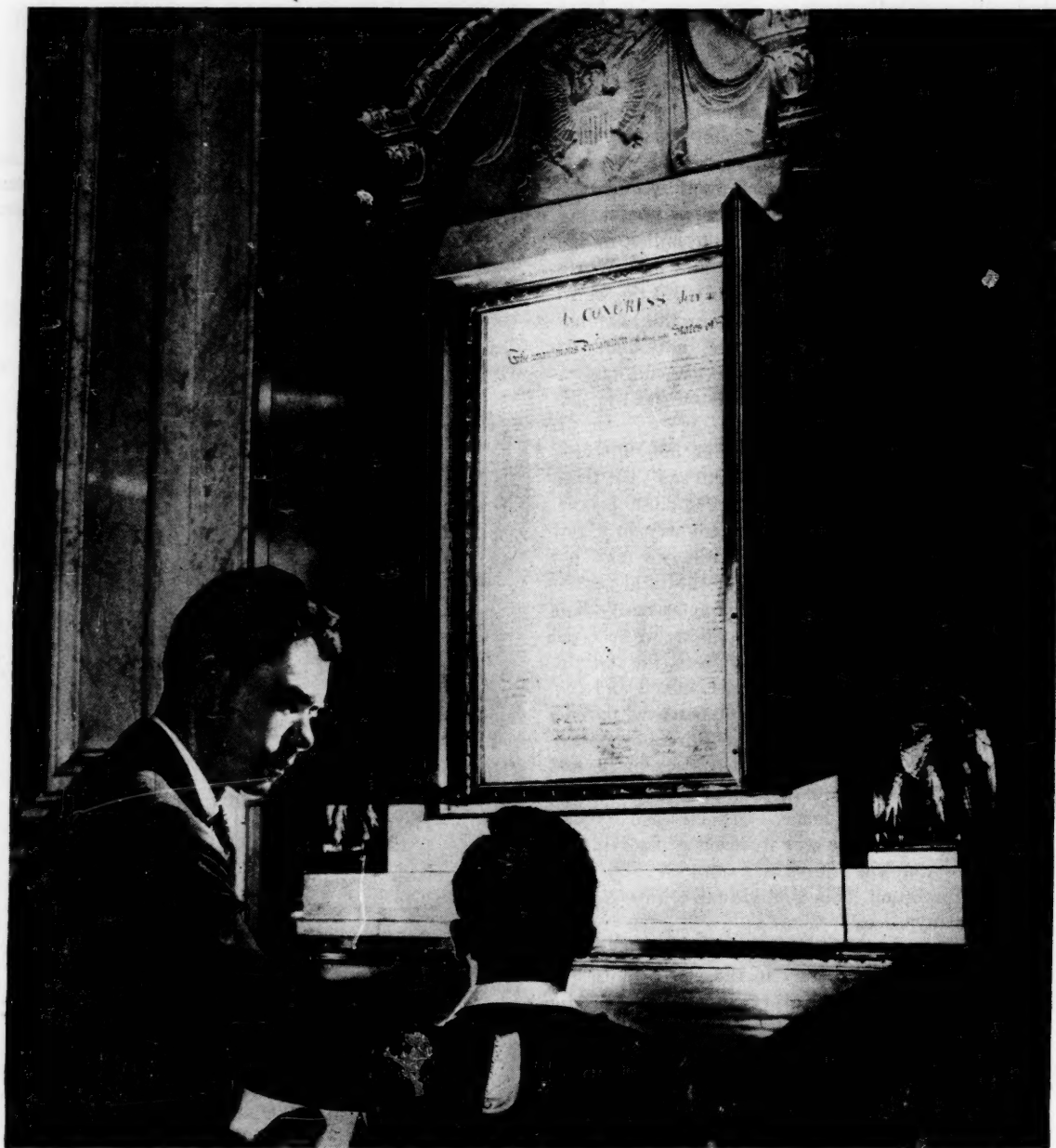
JOSEPH HOLLEKENS

greatly influenced their fellow men his name is near the top.

As a young man, George Washington could hardly have been rated more than a colonial farmer. He became "first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen." Napoleon was a common corporal in the French army, but he rose to be a marshal of armies and a ruler of most of Western Europe. His tribute to the worth of the individual is contained in his slogan that every French soldier had potentially a marshal's baton in his knapsack. Prob-

ably there was no humbler boy than Lincoln in his youth; yet he grew to a stature of greatness in time to direct a nation in its struggle for survival.

On one of the days following President Truman's inauguration, when he was still living in the Blair House in Washington, D.C., a woman stood on the sidewalk of Pennsylvania Avenue, watching the President walk to his office in the Executive Mansion. She was heard to say, "I'm from Missouri. I have seen Harry Truman a thousand times down home, but now he is a different man. I wanted to see him



COURTESY, THE ELECTRIC AUTO-LITE CO.

as President." She was there to see an individual who had emerged.

There is embodied within the American Declaration of Independence a recognition of personality almost unique in literature. It is the granting to every man, as an inalienable right, the opportunity of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Be he rich or poor, intelligent or not, farmer or merchant, banker or laborer, each man is granted the right to individual opportunity. In the United States Constitution there was incorporated a few years later a Bill of Rights, granting to each one the right of a free religion of his choice, freely exercised; the right of free speech and a free press, and protection from the interference of oppressive government. James Fenimore Cooper, who achieved his fame as a writer before his country had gained its great place as a nation, remarked:

"Individuality is the aim of political liberty. By leaving to the citizen as much freedom of action and of being as comports with order and the rights of others, the institutions render him truly a freeman. He is left to pursue his means of happiness in his own manner."

Need we point out how rarely these inalienable rights have been conceded in the past? They were anciently the privileges of only the favored few, and were but insecurely held. The Roman Empire was a "dreary prison" to any whose too-handsome villa or political indiscretions or novelty in religion or mere clashing personality irritated the despotic emperors, and whose end must be the opening of his own veins or the less dignified agony of the arena.

Personal rights were only for the privileged few, amid the mass of repressed and deprived common men, when kings could say, and mean it, "I am the state." When king and prelate, in such times, could combine, as they did, in a tyranny of repression, there resulted a cold and effective disregard of human rights. Ecclesiastical history shows intolerance more often than liberty. Thousands have perished under the decrees or at the behest of persecuting churchmen, co-operating with intolerant governments. Too often it has been the best people in mind and character who have thus suffered. That it is the church, called of Christ, which has persecuted, does not make it right. It makes it worse. John Stuart Mill has it in his essay *On Liberty*: "Whatever crushes individuality is despotism, by whatever name it may be called."

How shall we estimate men—by law or by caprice, by ethical standards or by prejudice? Shall we judge



H. M. LAMBERT

The American Declaration of Independence Recognizes as Inalienable the Right of Every Man to "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness"

a man's present worth to society by the name he has inherited, by the color of his skin, or by the creed to which his name is attached? Or shall we say that because he is an individual, helping to make up the mass of society, he is of value, and must as a man be protected in his individual rights, because society cannot afford to do otherwise? If society is to survive, the latter must be its formula of progress.

If society should yield to the pressure of an emergency and for the nonce neglect some of these rights, let the recovery be immediate. If leadership in society should for a time succeed in their suppression, let the leadership be recognized as bad, and a prompt but peaceful change be effected. If a philosophy, an ideology, a way of living, should call for the control and limitation of inherent rights, under the claim of the greater good of a state, a party, a bloc, or a tyrant, let the philosophy be recognized as false and injurious, and the rights of the individual reasserted and secured.

This is at this present moment no empty plea. Recognition of personal rights continues to be seriously threatened, even now when liberty has been the slogan for the prosecution of a total war, by certain sociological concepts. We have mass education. We have mass worship. We have mass-improvement programs. We have massive ideas of government and society which grip whole nations and sway peoples.

← Housed in the Library of Congress Are Two Highly Prized Documents: the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. These Two Official Papers Recognize the Inalienable Rights of Man and the Freedoms So Essential to Real Progress and Contentment

Does not this mean losing sight of personality, and the shifting of vital responsibility from the individual? The atrocities in German civilian concentration camps have horrified the world. But the German people shrug their shoulders and refuse concern for what has happened. It was the party, they say, the National Socialists, who did these things, not we.

What is the great threat in the philosophy of fascism and of communism? In both these systems there is the submersion of the individual into the mass. Personal rights give way to the demands of the state. No matter how much may be offered in compensation to the mass of common men, the exercise of whose rights has been suspended, the government which has lost sight of the value and of the rights of the individual is of necessity tyrannical in principle and dangerous potentially, if not actually.

Is not a grave danger in current communism the fact that with a promise of economic security it can purchase the lives and souls of millions and place them in subjection to a so-called dictatorship of the proletariat? The individual thinker, the man of conviction, who does not subscribe to the system is not merely criticized, he is "liquidated." He may be intelligent, blessed with initiative, but if the system which controls him does not like what he stands for, he is eliminated. He dare not stand out as a personality, free to express his individuality.

The spirit of man is menaced too by fascism. The fascist state, an impersonal dictator, brooks no opposition and grants to no individual the privilege of dissent. If one's way of life, or his race, is disapproved, there is for him as an individual little chance of survival. His worth as a person in society is discounted because of the imagined threat of his ideas or race to society as organized. He is "liquidated." One's character may be excellent, his ideals lofty, his ethics sound, but if his ideas are not approved by the ideology of applied fascism, the individual has no place in the scheme of things. He is eliminated.

Albert Einstein fled to this country to escape just such a fate. His comment is significant:

"Any power must be the enemy of mankind which enslaves the individual by terror and force, whether it arises under a fascist or communist flag. All that is valuable in human society depends upon the opportunity for development accorded to the individual."

We hold no brief for a selfish individualism which refuses co-operation to a community seeking right things in a good way. To exaggerate so far the rights of individuality becomes itself tyrannical. The man with so exaggerated a concept of personal liberty would himself become, were he given opportunity, a repressor of the rights of others.

He who holds back where the corporate good, in

both the practical and ethical sense, is concerned; who intrudes his claims to individual liberty to the point of license; who lives selfishly remote from the right aspirations of his fellows, in thus failing to bear his share of corporate duty, is limiting the liberty of dutiful citizens, and to that extent is repressing their right of free expression.

It is right that the individual shall make sacrifices for the good of the whole. But some things he cannot give up. He may yield outward happiness and material security, but he may not yield conscience. Under due process of law he may give his goods or his body, but he may not surrender his convictions. It is these sacred personal things of the mind and spirit that society, be it political, economic, or religious, must value highly and foster carefully. It is right for the individual to serve society. But it is society's task to assist, to foster, to develop, each individual in a society. It is not society in the mass, but each man in the mass of society, that is important. His rights must be protected and his opportunities increased.

This is not an outworn doctrine. Only by the transformation of society into a mere mechanism, itself inconceivable, can this principle be laid aside. There are some permanent verities and values which time, circumstance, or emergency cannot efface. The right of the individual to freedom of thought and its peaceful expression; access to opportunities for personal development, to the communion and fellowship of worship and of religious admonition, and the maintenance of personal convictions, are high on the list of things society can lose only to its detriment.

It is a tragedy that yet today we are too often actuated by prejudice rather than reason; that men's actions and ballots and speeches are controlled by those whose might attempts to make of their tyranny a right. Whether the tyranny be in politics, in economics, or in religion makes little difference. Whether its gains are made through arbitrary power or by mass movements which destroy individual liberty, the loss of individual rights can only be ultimately harmful to society.

It is a tragic paradox that the science which provides such effective means for the preservation to society of individual lives has provided appallingly efficient means for the destruction of whole masses of individuals, without regard to the potential worth to society of those it so impersonally destroys. That this cannot continue if society is to survive is obvious to everyone. Here is no theoretical question of the sociological or economic side of inalienable rights. Here is the dreadful question of the mere continuance of existence. Without having yet escaped the threat of ugly tyranny, we face the threat of awful destruction.

Man has the right to live and to do and to think. Any system which impersonally or unjustly deprives man of his life, or which demands of a man, by compulsion, uniformity or compliance for its own sake, is a contradiction of God's manifest concern for human personality.

There is an ancient law, by many esteemed divine, which says, "Thou shalt not kill." The application of this law in the negative has been argued *pro* and *contra*, again and again. I do not wish to argue it. I wish to state it in positive terms. I suggest that the law says to us, "Thou shalt permit to live."

Here is demanded the right to live. But is this merely to exist? Hardly. The right to live must include intrinsically the right to work, to do, to think, to believe, to worship. It is the right to know God

and to enjoy His providence; to express one's own personality, and to serve humanity. All this is concerned in the commandment, Thou shalt permit to live. Here is one of the greatest tributes to the intrinsic value of the individual that we find anywhere. To save society, its evaluation must be better and more universally applied.

"Then let us pray that come it may—

As come it will, for a' that—

That sense and worth, o'er all the earth,

May bear the gree, and a' that;

For a' that, and a' that,

It's comin' yet for a' that;

That man to man, the world o'er,

Shall brothers be for a' that!"

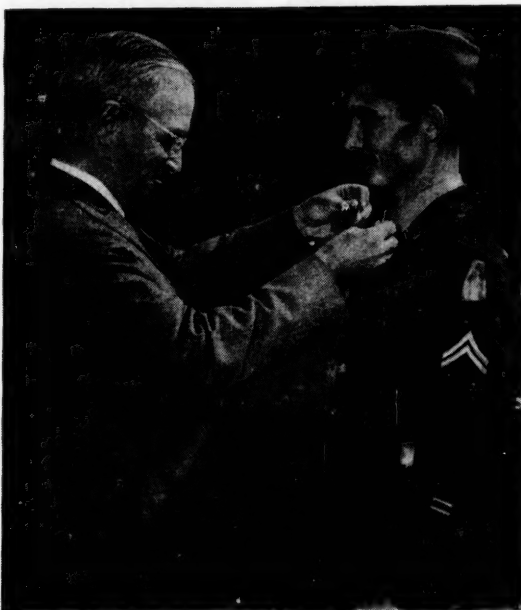
—ROBERT BURNS.

A Noncombatant Receives the Nation's Highest Honor

By HEBER H. VOTAW

ON FRIDAY, October 12, 1945, President Truman conferred the Congressional Medal of Honor upon a group of men who had shown great devotion to duty and displayed courage of the highest order. These men had braved danger and death in the discharge of their duties. They had scorned any attempt to save themselves. No one could have blamed them if they had given less, and no one can refuse to give them wholehearted and unstinted praise. In the person of the President the nation has hailed them as heroes, worthy of the highest honor possible for our country to give.

Among those thus honored was Corporal Desmond T. Doss, a man whose conscientious convictions prevented him from bearing arms. It was the first time in the history of our nation that a noncombatant has



President Truman Conferring the Congressional Medal of Honor Upon Corporal Desmond T. Doss, October 12, 1945

been thus decorated, and it was a fine manifestation of American devotion to the principle of complete religious liberty in practice as well as in theory.

At first thought many must have wondered how a man who because of his belief could not bear arms could have done anything to command the esteem and respect and confidence of his officers and his fellow soldiers so that they would not resent his presence among them nor be enraged when he was the recipient of the nation's highest decoration. We think there were three reasons for their attitude in the case of Corporal Doss.

First, he is not a conscientious objector as the term is generally used. True conscientious objectors will not wear the uniform of any branch of the armed services. They refuse to engage in any military or

naval service whatever. The most extreme conscientious objectors even refuse to salute the flag. The noncombatant, on the other hand, accepts military service. He only objects to taking life. He does not condemn those who disagree with him. He only asks to be allowed to follow the dictates of his own conscience.

During an interview we had with Corporal Doss he set forth his views thus: "I am not a conscientious objector; I am a noncombatant. I understand the conscientious objector will not salute the flag. I love to salute it, for I know what it stands for. I love the flag. I don't want to kill anybody, for the Bible says 'they that take the sword shall perish with the sword,' but I am not trying to judge anybody. Everyone has a right to decide such matters for himself. I know what our men went through."

Second, Doss did not think of himself as being apart from the other soldiers. This was clear as he recited the events of the battles that gave him his best chance to show that his convictions were not prompted by cowardice. He told of the approach toward the enemy's line and said: "We did not dare shoot for fear of revealing our position to the Japanese. We could bayonet anyone we met because this did not make any sound." He felt himself so much a part of the troops that in his report he used his pronouns in the first person, though when asked, "Did you have a gun?" he quickly replied, "Oh no, oh no."

Third, he was very modest. About one hundred and fifty men were in his company when the battle began and there were more than one hundred casualties. There were two medical corpsmen in the beginning, but one had to be evacuated, leaving Doss alone to give first aid; yet he said the newspaper reports give him more credit than is due him.

The fact that Corporal Doss had two earlier citations is proof enough that his courage and devotion to duty were a part of him during all his period of military service.

But Corporal Doss is by no means the only noncombatant who has served his country valiantly. Many an unknown and unsung soldier who felt that he could not bear arms has given himself without stint to serving the sick and wounded. These men have gone wherever they were needed, no matter at what personal danger. We know a woman who has gathered some information concerning seventy noncombatants and has in her possession the records of the citations or copies of letters of high commendation written by the commanding officers of these men. Undoubtedly there are others.

Even those who have no sympathy with the beliefs of noncombatants, but who know of their work, do not hesitate to praise their faithfulness, and many

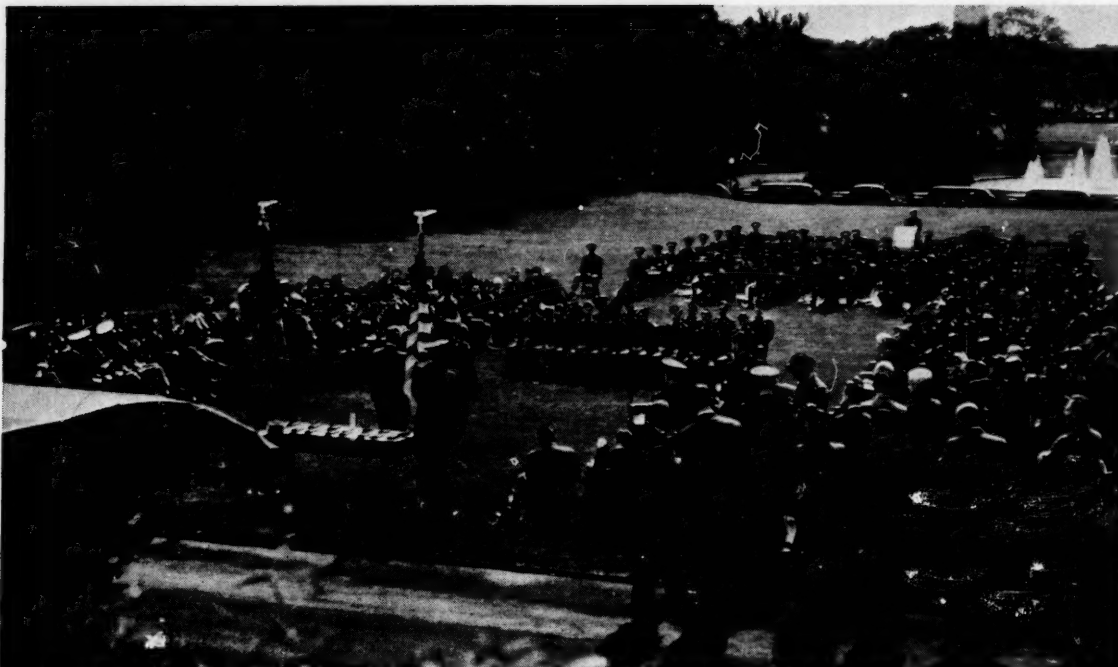
soldiers will agree that it takes courage of a high order to go unarmed into the face of the devastating fire of the modern battlefield.

Meeting Doss and talking to him reminded us that our naturalization laws, as interpreted by our highest court, require that an alien desiring citizenship must swear that he will bear arms if called upon to do so by our Government. We think the interpretation is first, forced, and second, foolish. If Doss, for instance, had been born abroad, he could not have been naturalized. Can it be that America puts military prowess above every other virtue? Can it be that America prizes conformity more than a tender conscience? We must not be misunderstood as holding that the noncombatant is more conscientious than the warrior. No! But we think he has a right to his views, and we further think any country is fortunate to have conscientious citizens, even if to the many they seem "funny."

We believe that the naturalization officials have put a strained interpretation upon the law itself, and that the Supreme Court has been unfortunate in its decisions which hold that the oath to defend the Constitution means always and arbitrarily the willingness to bear arms. This editor once acted as the sponsor for an alien seeking citizenship. The man was a minister of religion, eighty years of age, but before his petition was granted, he was required to say that he would bear arms if the nation needed him. We know a nurse whose brother is serving in the United States Army, and who loves the principles of this Government as much as he does, who was refused citizenship because she had to tell the court that as a nurse it was her duty to save life rather than to take it. She had been trained to recognize that it was not within her province to decide whether or not her patient was worth saving. She told the court that she would do anything except take life. But the judge, following the decisions of our highest court, denied her petition.

The noncombatant, such as Doss, conscientiously and courageously objects to taking human life but will assume any military risk necessary to save life. He does not speculate as to whether or not war is always wrong. He merely feels that his place in any conflict is to bind up wounds, to minister to the sick and suffering, and to carry out the teachings of Jesus Christ as he understands them.

The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 provides for the induction and use of noncombatants in the military service of the United States, and President Roosevelt, by an Executive Order on December 6, 1940, defined noncombatant service. General Lewis B. Hershey, director of the National Selective Service system, in a report to the President entitled "Selective Service in Wartime," commenting



FROM A KODACHROME BY T. K. MARTIN

This is an Overall Picture of the Special Ceremony on the White House Grounds in October, 1945. Each Serviceman in the Center Group Received the Congressional Medal of Honor for Great Devotion to Duty and Courage of the Highest Order. One of These Servicemen Was a Noncombatant, Corporal Desmond T. Doss

concerning the application of that portion of the Selective Training and Service Act dealing with conscientious objectors, said:

"It might be invincible ignorance or misunderstanding or emotion, but if the individual regards his act as his answer to a call from God, or as God's will, in accordance with his religious training and belief, then the nation, in accordance with its tradition, feels bound to recognize it."

We are entirely in harmony with the statements made by the Honorable Charles H. Leavy, United States district judge for the Western District of Washington, Southern Division, in the cases of William Robert Kinloch and William McKillop. Both these men were serving in the Army in noncombatant capacities when they filed their petitions for citizenship. In our issue of the fourth quarter, 1944, we quoted at length from Judge Leavy's decision. It is sufficient for our purposes here to state that under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 all aliens of a certain age living in this country were required to register for military service, and to remind our readers that three classes of service were provided: 1. General combat service. 2. Noncombatant service. 3. Work of civilian importance in camps. The law provided that those who were drafted could become citizens by filing petitions in any court having jurisdiction, "irrespective of the residence of the applicant." Further, it did not re-

quire the petitioner to be able even to speak the English language, nor to sign his petition. In fact, no educational test whatever was imposed and no fee collected. However, there was this provision, "that the Act shall not apply to . . . any conscientious objector who performed no military duty whatever, or who refused to wear the uniform."

It is perfectly clear that Congress had no thought whatever of barring a noncombatant from citizenship. As Judge Leavy said, "If conscientious objectors, who are aliens, performing military duty, and wearing the uniform, are not granted the privileges of citizenship under this Act, then the Act would be meaningless. . . . If the oath of allegiance is to be construed as requiring such applicant to agree, without mental reservation, to bear arms, then the result would be a denial of citizenship, even though Congress has conferred such privilege upon him."

Let us repeat, we believe that to deny citizenship to a person who is willing to serve in the armed forces of the country, even though he is conscientiously opposed to taking life, is a forced interpretation of the naturalization oath.

Can anyone really think that this country would be hurt by the admission of such men as citizens? The glory of our land has been that men of firm convictions have been welcomed here. Never has a strong religious belief been discredited.



H. A. ROBERTS

The Greatest of All Freedoms Is the Liberty to Believe and Practice, According to Conscience, the Religion of One's Choice

Liberty to Believe

By HARROP A. FREEMAN

[The author of this article is secretary and professor of the Cornell Law School at Ithaca, New York. He is a contributor to law journals, but, as our readers will observe, he has the happy faculty of expressing legal matters in terms that the layman can understand. We are happy to have Professor Freeman write for us, and shall hope to have further contributions from his pen.—ED.]

PERHAPS SOMEWHERE, at some time, some man dared believe and state that his fellow men need not freeze or eat food raw. He proposed and demonstrated fire. This bold one was probably banished or stoned to death. But the *idea* would not die. Somewhere a man, seeing a seed give birth to a plant, proclaimed to his nomadic brethren that they need no longer roam; they could settle down and grow their own food. The graybeards of his tribe cast him from

the cliff, for had not their fathers and fathers' fathers taught "that he who lives in one place shall starve." But the *idea* would not die. Some prophet revealed his insight that there was *one* God. Though he was burned, yet would not the *idea* die. How many times man had to learn by bitter experience that the novel ideas of yesteryear were the foundations of today's religion and culture we do not know, but Socrates was able to declare, "The sun could as easily be spared from the universe as free speech from the liberal institutions of society."

A philosopher's statement, however, does not make the principles of liberty live. They must climb a steep path marked by John Ball, the "mad priest of Kent," who was killed by King Richard; marked by the head of Wat Tyler, who dared petition the king on

behalf of the "villeins"; and they must pass the tower where Peter Wentworth died for his speeches in Parliament.

In 1644 John Milton penned the lines:

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely, *according to conscience*, above all liberties. . . And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting, to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple. Who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?"

Three hundred years later Chief Justice Hughes of the United States Supreme Court borrowed these same words to explain the rights granted by the First Amendment to the Constitution and the basic theories of American constitutional development. That same judge underlined our reliance on conscience and a religion independent of the state in these words:

"In the forum of conscience duty to a moral power higher than the state has always been maintained. . . The essence of religion is belief in a relation to God involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation."

In my opinion the founders of the nation intended that what Chief Justice Hughes called the "forum of conscience" should be recognized much more widely than it is today. It is certain that the framers of the Constitution knew of the religious claims of the dissident sects which refused to bear arms. The convention met in Philadelphia, center of Quakerism. Two years earlier the Commonwealth of Virginia had led the way by granting full religious liberty. "This act was brought about by the combined influence of the dissenters (Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, etc.), who formed at that time two thirds of the population, and the political school of Jefferson." Washington had experience in the French wars with Quakers, who "chose rather to be whipped to death than to bear arms or lend us any assistance whatever upon the fort, or anything for self-defense," until Washington finally had to release them. Upon his inauguration Washington recognized the Quakers as most "exemplary and useful citizens" "except their declining to share with others the burthen of the common defense." There is some evidence that a suggestion was made to include a conscience clause in the Constitution. This was not adopted, apparently, as part of the well-known decision to omit a bill of rights on the ground that it would be dangerous to attempt to define rights lest some be omitted and that there was no need to "reserve" rights from a government that had only delegated powers. Religious tests for office were proscribed by the Constitution, and the right of affirmation instead of oath was inserted in deference to Quakers and similar sects who would not take oaths.

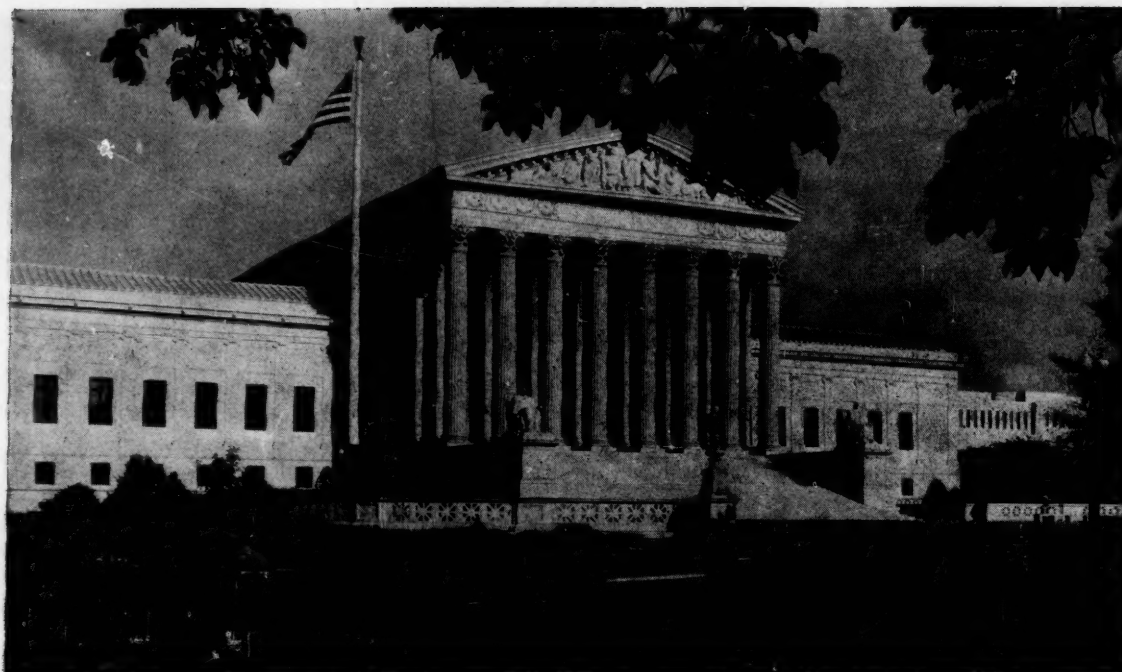
So well understood was this position that no discussion was necessary. In the State debates which produced the First Amendment specific reference to Quakers and similar sects was made. The States refused to ratify the Constitution unless a bill of rights was added, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and the minority in Pennsylvania being especially insistent on the protection of religious freedom. Hamilton's proposal that the amendment granting the right to keep and bear arms should add, "but no person religiously scrupulous of bearing arms shall be compelled to render military service *in person*," was dropped and soon after the First Amendment was adopted, Aedanus Burke spoke strongly against the Federal or State governments requiring conscientious objectors to pay a fee for exemption, because such legislation was "contrary to the Constitution." The exemption of "persons conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms" was referred to as a recognized principle in the first Congressional debate on the militia bill, and some Federal laws exempted religious objectors from any armed service.

The Supreme Court has taken judicial notice of Quakers' refusal to "doff hats" as an expression of their religious beliefs and in the famous *Davis v. Beason* case defined the intention of Article I:

"To allow everyone under the jurisdiction of the United States to entertain such notions respecting his relations to his Maker and the duties they impose, as may be approved by his judgment and conscience, and to exhibit his sentiments in such form of worship as he may think proper, not injurious to the equal rights of others."

Many persons look to the language employed by the United States Supreme Court to justify refusal of citizenship to aliens who were conscientious objectors in the *Macintosh* and *Schwimmer* cases, to urge that persons can be compelled to take military training and service though opposed to their religious beliefs. Such a position cannot be justified. Those cases and the case of *Hamilton v. Regents*, in which two conscientious objectors refused to take military training at the University of California, involved people who were seeking special privileges (citizenship, freedom from tuition). The Supreme Court makes this clear distinction. In the *Hamilton* case the Court found that the constitutional right of religious freedom "does include the right to entertain the beliefs, to adhere to the principles, and to teach the doctrines on which these students base their objections to the order prescribing military training."

Nevertheless, the student was seeking "the 'privilege' of attending the university as a student (which) comes not from Federal sources but is given by the State. It is not within the asserted protection. . .



T. K. MARTIN

It is the Function of the United States Supreme Court, Housed in This Marble Building, to Interpret the Laws of Our Nation, and to Uphold and Protect Those Rights Vouchsafed to Us by That Matchless Instrument of Human Rights, the Constitution of the United States. In These Days of Unrest and Turmoil the Inalienable Rights of Man Need the Protection of Calm and Clear-Thinking Jurists

California has not drafted or called them to attend the university."

But the Supreme Court, in the second flag salute case (*West Virginia State Board of Education vs. Walter Barnett, et al.*), in holding that a Jehovah's Witness could not be made to salute the flag, said:

"This issue is not prejudiced by the Court's previous holding that where a State, *without compelling attendance*, extends college facilities to pupils who voluntarily enroll, it may prescribe military training as part of the course without offense to the Constitution. It was held that those who take advantage of its opportunities may not on ground of conscience refuse compliance with such conditions. *Hamilton v. Regents*, 293 U.S. 245. *In the present case attendance is not optional.*"

Further, the present Court has apparently accepted the minority view in the *Macintosh* and *Schwimmer* cases and might not now bar an alien from naturalization because of his conscientious scruples, much less prevent the exercise of freedom of conscience by a natural-born citizen. In the *Schneiderman* case the Court denied the power of the government to revoke the naturalization of a communist because of his views as such communist. It referred no less than six times and "agreed to" the dissent of Chief Justice Hughes in the *Macintosh* and Justice Holmes in the *Schwim-*

mer case, and cast doubt on the majority holdings therein:

"It was held that the statute created a test of belief. . . . We do not stop to re-examine this construction, for even if it is accepted, the result is not changed. As mentioned before, we agree with the statement of Chief Justice Hughes in dissent in *Macintosh's* case that the behavior requirement is 'a general phrase which should be construed, not in opposition to, but in accord with the theory and practice of our government in relation to freedom of conscience.' 283 U.S. at page 635, 51 S. Ct. at page 579, 75 L. Ed. 1302. See, also, the dissenting opinion of Justice Holmes in the *Schwimmer* case, *supra*, 279 U.S. 653-655, 49 S. Ct. 451, 73 L. Ed. 889."

If religious liberty is to ring out crystal clear, we shall have to be sure that the First Amendment to the Constitution protects the right of conscience.

INDIVIDUAL liberty in legitimate pursuits cannot be preserved in a government that exercises supremacy over all human functions.

WE surrender certain privileges temporarily to gain greater freedom, but under no conditions do we ever surrender fundamental principles and inalienable rights.

Democracy Versus Totalitarianism

By C. S. LONGACRE

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN democracy and totalitarianism is that liberal and orderly democracy recognizes that all men are fallible, and absolute totalitarianism assumes that it is always in the right and should therefore exercise absolute control over all things both civil and religious. These two conflicting concepts have sought to gain the ascendancy in government, one by the peaceable processes of public enlightenment and education, the other through the exercise of absolute authority in all things sustained with military force and the police power of the state.

Democracy makes its appeal to reason and conscience as the final arbiters of justice and human rights. Totalitarianism makes its appeal to might as the criterion of right. Democracy stands in defense of civil and religious liberty and all fundamental human rights, whereas totalitarianism is opposed to all democratic processes of government and believes in deifying the state by compelling all men to submit to its absolute authority in all things temporal and spiritual. Norman Angell, in his book *For What Do We Fight?* draws a clear distinction between these two concepts of civil government as follows:

"The case for liberalism is that man is infinitely fallible; that he arrives at the right decision painfully, only if he will submit himself to the unpleasant discipline of listening to those who do not agree with him; if he preserves the right so to do. And we are so made that if we will not accept that process, then our decisions, even though we be very learned like German professors, may be perfectly monstrous in their stupidity, their ferocious cruelty, their self-destruction."

Mr. Angell has stated very clearly how these two concepts of government operate in actual practice. Democracy, or liberalism, works more slowly and "painfully" before it arrives at its final decisions by listening to the opposition, which requires self-discipline, charity, and forbearance; whereas totalitarianism brooks no opposition but enforces its will, no matter how stupid and unjust, at all costs, no matter what the ultimate consequences. It is quick in its decisions, ferocious in its attitude toward opposing minority groups, because it believes that "might makes right." Democracy, in its last conflict with totalitarianism in this world conflict for supremacy in government, has demonstrated again the truthfulness

of the divine prediction: "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong." Eccl. 9:11.

The dictators of Europe and of the Orient ridiculed the slow and deliberate processes of democratic forms of government as a fundamental weakness in government, and they exalted the speedy decisions and movements of the dictators as the strength of the totalitarian form of government. The dictator is unwilling to "submit himself to the unpleasant discipline of listening to those who do not agree with him," in order that he may preserve his own right to disagree with his opponents when they are in the majority. The dictator believes that "might makes right" and will keep him in power for aye. He does not realize that the supreme weakness of totalitarianism lies in its hasty and immature decisions, in its arbitrary exercise of absolute power, in its suppression and oppression of the fundamental rights of minority groups, and in its blasphemous assumption to reign in the domain of God as an infallible ruler as well as in the realm of human affairs. The strength of democracy lies in its willingness to delay action until it has ascertained the will of the people, until every fundamental right of the people has been made secure before it launches into conflict with a foreign foe. It believes in preserving constitutional government and the fundamental rights of the people in war as well as in times of peace. It believes in voluntary censorship of the press and of speech even of military exigencies and movements in great emergencies. But the dictator of a totalitarian power exercises tyrannical and absolute authority over all functions of government, over all activities and relationships of life, whether they are human or divine functions. The individual is nothing; the state is everything. The individual must be a serf in everything and the dictator an absolute god in everything.

It is fortunate for the inhabitants of the world that the ideals of democracy triumphed in this world conflict over the ideologies of the totalitarian powers. The ascendancy and victory of totalitarianism would have meant the enslavement of the peoples of the world to the absolute authority of dictators, the destruction of all inalienable and fundamental rights of the individual, the annihilation of republican and constitutional forms of government, the abolition of religious freedom, and as a consequence the doom of civilization and the world itself. Whenever that ide-

ology prevails over republican forms of government, the day has arrived for God, who rules over all nations, to take His "great power" to Himself and to execute retributive judgment against "the throne of iniquity . . . which frameth mischief by a law." Ps. 94:20. That day is coming, but fortunately it has been postponed and delayed until God's plans and purposes have been fulfilled in the earth. This is our day of opportunity to exalt the principles of essential justice, of ordered liberty, of human happiness, of the general welfare, of human rights, of religious freedom, of the equality of all men, and of everlasting righteousness. If we fail now, all is lost, and the dissolution of all things temporal awaits us.

A Returning GI on Liberty

WE'D BEEN STANDING jammed against the rail since just after daybreak. On a troopship, if you want a spot by the rail you get there early. A cold gray fog hung over the North Atlantic, and it shook down in spattering showers from the rigging on the GI's who were shivering on the foredeck. Occasionally, as the wind would blow a long rift in the fog and there would be a momentary glimpse of distant gray sea, the boys behind would climb eagerly up on our heels to look over. The little fellows in the rear were constantly demanding, "See anything yet?"

The fog had pretty well thinned when there was a commotion over on the port side. "What is it?" "Hey, that's it over there." "Where?" "Aw, that's just another freighter, isn't it?" "Naw, it's land. That's America, Bud. That's America!"

Now, if there is one thing that GI Joe is *not*, it's a sentimental patriot. He has a very earthy way of describing the stuff put out by Fourth of July orators and visiting Congressmen. But when you've been away from America for a while—when you've eaten enough powdered eggs and powdered milk and slept on straw in strange places—well, there's a wonderful beauty in the name "America."

As the long gray liner crept up the harbor (rain had begun by now) past the anchored freighters and bustling tugs, the chorus of steamer whistles which followed her progress was music to the soggy soldiers on the deck. At every new blast of welcome, their grins grew broader. They didn't say much. But this was America—home. It was kinda hard to believe. They just grinned.

"Wonder if Liberty'll be out this mornin'," whimsically worried one youngster. "No," somebody told him, "the old lady probably ain't up yet. It's a bad day." But as the statue slipped out of the haze on the left, a huge roar went up from the deck. No foreign lady ever received such greeting—such two-

fingered whistles of shrill admiration. If some of the boys cried a little, nobody noticed it. As we said, GI's aren't sentimental, but this was America.

We're willing to leave the drum beating and the flag waving for the Veterans' conventions of the future. But the GI returning from overseas who has seen the crippled souls and stunted bodies of men who have lived under a "system" or an "aristocracy" has found out something for himself. Here he can walk down Main Street and know that he doesn't need to get off the sidewalk for anybody. Half of that sidewalk belongs to him. This is his country. He is as good as any man in it. He is an American, and this is America.

By the way—if you haven't thanked God lately that you were born in America, maybe you'd better get caught up on your gratitude.—SGT. LESLIE SARGENT in *The Campus Chronicle*, Aug. 16, 1945.

The Anglican Dilemma

[In *The Christian Century* of October 17, 1945, there was an editorial entitled "The Anglican Dilemma." Through the courtesy of the publishers of *The Christian Century* we offer this copyrighted article to our readers. We think it needs no comment from us.—EDITOR.]

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND is not in a uniquely difficult spot because it contains Anglo-catholic and evangelical elements between which there are some differences of belief and practice. Other churches also have diversities in thought and worship within their respective folds, and not all of them have had equal success in maintaining fellowship in faith and unity in action. The special dilemma of Anglicanism is inherent in its position as the established national church of a nation only a small minority of whose citizens are members of this church. It wants to continue to have the status of a national church, but it resents control by the nation through the only agency by which the nation can express itself—that is, the national government. The Archbishop of York, in his address to this year's York convocation, gave voice to this resentment. Outlining four freedoms for the Church of England, he declared that the church should ask for fuller self-government. The heavy hand of Parliament should be lifted, and the church itself should proceed with the revision of its worship, its canon law, its courts, and the method of appointing its bishops. Viewed in the abstract, this desire to free the church from secular control calls for sympathy. But at the same time the archbishop strongly opposes disestablishment. That, he thinks, would "delay rather than hasten essential reform." It would be interesting to

know exactly why he thinks that a free Episcopal Church in England would be less able to reform itself than an established church is. The other free churches, reflecting the convictions of their own memberships, do all right under their own spiritual leaders. What does the archbishop want the government to do, apart from what it does for all churches, to "assist us in making the national church more effective in fulfilling its spiritual mission"? The dilemma is that the "national church" is not national. While ceasing to be that, it continues to be the governmental church. The "dialectic" of its position is in the inconsistency between the fact of its establishment and the fact that it has become a minority group, and between its clinging to the prestige and emoluments of governmental patronage and its desire to be free from all governmental control.

Religion on Schoolltime

IN SPRINGFIELD [Illinois] on June 18, 1945, H.B. 828, to legalize sectarian religious instruction on released schooltime, was introduced by Representative Clabaugh to a responsive house. It was advanced to third reading before it was printed, and passed by the house without a committee hearing.

The Citizens Schools Committee protested to the governor and all members of the senate against passing legislation so important and so controversial, in haste and without committee hearings. The bill was referred to the Senate Education Committee, and on short notice a public hearing was set for June 27. Among the opponents of the bill, Dr. Lapp [Dr. John A. Lapp, president of Citizens Schools Committee] spoke for this organization and Mrs. [H. C.] Dormitzer read a statement of Mrs. Walter F. Heine-man. The committee returned the bill to the senate without recommendation to pass, and it got too few votes to be placed on the crowded calendar of the final two days of the session.

H.B. 828 is dead, but *sectarian religion on released schooltime remains a live issue*. [Italics ours.] For this reason the board of the Citizens Schools Committee wishes to restate and clarify its position.

On this board, as among the general membership, are Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, most of them with definite, active religious affiliations. The injection of antireligious sentiment into the discussion of released time is condemned unanimously by the board, and from opposition to religion as such its members desire to disassociate themselves.

But in other States legislation of the pattern of H.B. 828, which would have stamped with legality the present practice in scores of Chicago schools, has been merely an entering wedge. As soon as any church is allowed to conduct classes in a school build-

ing or school funds are expended to keep records, check truancy, or exercise control over the quality of instruction to such classes, there is a clear violation of our State constitution. Even to excuse children from school, except between the ages of twelve and fourteen for confirmation classes, violates the compulsory school attendance law of Illinois.

The principles of *separation of church and state* and of *complete freedom of worship* are basic to American democracy. It is clear that *the only advantage to the church in released-time religious education is the help of compulsory-attendance laws*. For the church to ask the state thus to sponsor its teaching is to confess its own weakness and to imperil its ultimate freedom from control by the state. [Italics ours.]

Under the Bill of Rights there can be no discrimination in the treatment of shades and varieties of religious thought. Yet it is seldom that all churches in a community can avail themselves equally of the opportunity for released-time education. It is the avowed expectation of those who favor the plan that children who attend these classes shall not be penalized in their schoolwork. It follows that those who remain in school must not be taught anything essential, and in many schools it is actually the classwork of the majority that must be curtailed.

From the standpoint of the school which has, at the most, less than a fifth of the waking hours of any child, released time reduces the hours for a crowded curriculum. It makes school programing difficult, and especially so where different churches or different groups have classes at separate times. Our schools are seriously in need of protection from awkward interruptions.

And finally, but not least important, *in America the public school is the one great unifying force available to a population of diverse antecedents and varied home background*. It is there that children of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews learn to work and play together and to understand and respect one another. *It is the place to stress community of interest rather than to introduce or label differences*. [Italics ours.] —Chicago Schools (Published by Citizens Schools Committee), August, 1945.

EDITORIALS

Teaching Religion in Public Schools Opposed

THE DETROIT COUNCIL OF CHURCHES has asked the board of education to "adopt a released-time or dismissed-time policy" for the purpose of

teaching religion in the public schools. The Detroit churches are inaugurating a campaign for \$50,000 to undertake the religious educational program. A large group of Detroit citizens who see danger in the proposed program have appointed a "Committee to Maintain Separation of Church and State," and are opposing the plan for weekday religious education in the public schools. This committee claims that such a scheme is "an entering wedge of the church into the life of the public schools" and that released schooltime to teach religion tends to "bring about divisiveness, exaggerate differences, and encourage antagonisms."

"Leaders of the Committee to Maintain Separation of Church and State are City Councilman Harry S. Sweeny, chairman; the Rev. Merrill Otis Bates of Grosse Pointe Unitarian Church, Dr. Robert Foster of the Merrill-Palmer School, the Rev. Daniel Hughes of Welsh Presbyterian Church, and Prof. Alfred McClung Lee of Wayne University, vice-chairmen."—*Toledo Blade*, Sept. 20, 1945.

All that the Detroit churches which are sponsoring this program of religious education in the public schools need to do to find out how it works is to get in touch with the public school authorities in some of the cities in New York State that have tried the scheme and have abandoned it. It did exactly what the "Committee to Maintain Separation of Church and State" in Detroit declared it would do, namely, provoke "divisiveness, exaggerate differences, and encourage antagonisms." It has already started to do that very thing in the Detroit churches before the plan is put into operation, judging from leading church representatives who are in both groups opposing each other. But the religious flare-up among the church leaders in opposing groups is nothing in comparison to the religious flare-ups that will be provoked among the public school children when they are segregated into separate groups and into a non-attendance group.

When our forefathers separated the church and the state, and founded our public school system for all the children of the state, they provided that the children in the public schools, which were supported by a general tax fund so all children could go to free schools, should not be taught religion in these public schools, but only secular studies which would not provoke controversies. Religion was left to the church and to the parents, to be inculcated into the children. Any church or any parent who shifts that responsibility to the state is negligent of his own duties and responsibilities. As President U. S. Grant said, "Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the church, and the private school, supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the church and the state forever separate."

C. S. L.

Can Men Change Human Nature?

NO MAN CAN LIFT himself up by pulling at his bootstraps. The leopard cannot change his spots nor the Ethiopian his skin. Nor can a man change his own innate nature. Nor can one man change the nature of any other.

The failure to learn this physiological fact is responsible for the failure of many reform measures that have been devised by men and governments. Human nature, whatever it is defined to be, is stamped upon the very fabric and constitution of every man when he is born. He inherits it from his ancestors, as the leopard does his spots and the Ethiopian his skin. The fact that the Ethiopian maiden camouflages her skin with cosmetics does not change the real nature of the skin. A person may change his conduct, and often does, but that does not change his human nature. No man can change his sinful flesh to holy flesh. As the apostle Paul says, all mortal beings will remain mortal until "this mortal shall have put on immortality" and all men will retain vile bodies until "the Lord Jesus Christ" comes, "who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body, according to the working whereby He is able even to subdue all things unto Himself."

God, and not man, can and will change human nature. But that change will not take place "until the times of restitution of all things" come, "which God hath spoken by the mouth of all His holy prophets since the world began." When Christ comes "the second time" He shall "restore all things." Only those who are "born again" individually can enter the kingdom of God. The work of grace is not for the whole race but for the individual.

As long as human beings retain their human nature they will act as human beings and disappoint both God and man. Moses, who was the meekest of men, lost his temper and "spake unadvisedly with his lips," and as a consequence could not enter the earthly Canaan, or "Promised Land." A hypocrite may deceive us by his pious conduct and high-sounding words of holiness, but he cannot deceive God while his "heart is . . . desperately wicked." By nature, "as it is written, There is none righteous, no, not one."

If professional "reform" organizations and civil authorities could ever learn that it is impossible for human beings to change human nature they would save themselves much grief and disappointment. They would realize that it is impossible to establish the kingdom of God on earth by human legislation and religious, economic, social, financial, and political measures, or by church-and-state alliances or religious

combinations and compromises to bring all into "the unity of faith," into "one fold" under "one Shepherd." Such attempts can only lead to the establishment of an inquisition instead of the kingdom of God on earth.

C. S. L.

Government Aid and Government Control

OCCASIONALLY WE ARE chided by readers for stressing the need of watching every attempt of encroachment upon our liberties. Such have forgotten that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Sometimes we are told that we see danger where none exists. Often our conclusions are thought to be unjustified. We lay no claim to infallibility. Far from it. We merely think that when we see danger, anybody else with reasonable sight ought to be able to see it, because we are willing to believe all our readers are at least as intelligent as we are.

For a long time, and over and over again, this journal has expressed the conviction that those who clamor for government aid in support of sectarian institutions are playing with fire. It is our considered opinion that not only will the government control that which it supports, but that it ought to do so. We believe that no official can discharge his obligations to the government if he fails to make sure that the money that is appropriated from tax funds is properly expended. Such a failure would surely be nonfeasance if not malfeasance. Control cannot be legally delegated to any nongovernment body. The government must control what it subsidizes or supports.

When the right of a State to appropriate money from its taxes to sectarian institutions has been challenged in the courts, the decisions have generally held that such use of public funds is unconstitutional. We think the right of a government—State or Federal—to regulate what it aids by money grants is beyond question, and so we believe that churches and church institutions cannot afford to accept any government grants-in-aid.

In the case of *Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture, et al., v. Filburn* (317 U.S. 111), decided on November 9, 1942, Mr. Justice Jackson, delivering the opinion of the United States Supreme Court, made some very striking and forceful statements, which we believe support the views we have expressed. The case itself does not involve any government aid to religious institutions. A casual reading might lead one to think that there is no connection with the things about which we have been talking. But a careful reading will convince anyone, we think, that what the Court has expressed in this case, it would

doubtless follow in cases where religious institutions are involved.

Roscoe C. Filburn, a farmer in Montgomery County, Ohio, was charged with violating the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 as amended, by growing on his farm more wheat than the County Agricultural Conservation Committee for his county had approved, and was assessed a penalty of forty-nine cents a bushel for all that was raised in excess of the amount for which he had authority. Filburn sought an injunction to prevent the imposition of the penalty for his violation of the Agricultural Adjustment Act. His attorneys urged that their client was denied "due process of law" as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. In reversing the action of a lower court which had granted an injunction, the United States Supreme Court held that "an act of Congress is not to be refused application by the courts as arbitrary and capricious and forbidden by the Due Process Clause merely because it is deemed in a particular case to work an inequitable result." And that "*it is hardly lack of due process for the Government to regulate that which it subsidizes.*" [Italics ours.]

Thus our highest tribunal has spoken. This is a warning to those who clamor for public funds for the support of their private and sectarian schools. Let such remember that in pressing for tax funds they are inviting that governmental regulation which could, and probably would, destroy the very thing for which church schools have been established.

H. H. V.

True to Her Ideals

THE *Seattle* (Washington) *Post-Intelligencer*, September 12, 1945, published an Associated Press news report from Vatican City and quoted excerpts from a pastoral letter as set forth in *The Osservatore Romano*, issued by the bishops of the Venetia region in northern Italy, asserting that "separation of church from state would mean that the state would become 'atheistic and agnostic,' resulting in 'enslavement of the church to decisions of law authorities.'"

The established church of Italy has always been opposed to a separation of church and state, and she is still true to that dogma. The American ideal of a separation of church and state does not lead to the "enslavement of the church to decisions of law authorities." Each is free and independent to function in its own sphere without any interference from either. Each is absolute in authority in the field of its influence. The state is neutral on religious questions and the church is supposed to be neutral in the field of civil and political affairs. When either in-

vades the domain of the other, the Supreme Court of the land as well as public sentiment sets the offending party back again in its own proper sphere. No church that stays within its own proper bounds has anything to fear from the state. It is only when the church assumes authority over all things both civil and religious, temporal and spiritual, or the state assumes totalitarian powers over all things, both human and divine, that a conflict of interests arises. A complete separation of church and state is the only basis for lasting peace between the church and the state. Let each recognize the absolute independence of the other in its proper sphere of influence as divinely ordained, and there will be no occasion for disagreement and trouble. Neither has a right to enslave the other by its decisions and its exercise of authority. Each must recognize its limits of authority. In this case a legal divorce between the church and the state makes for lasting peace.

C. S. L.

Public Servants and Usurped Authority

THE PRESERVATION of the liberty we enjoy must rest in our understanding of the fact that *no* man should be asked to assume the duties that belong to us all. Public men who begin their careers in humility often become insufferable in their arrogance because the people through indifference or slothfulness give more and more power to these leaders and fail to exercise that wholesome restraint which every man seems to need.

Many learn from adversity, but few can stand prosperity. Flattery, adulation, and blandishment fatten vanity. Between the carping critic and the sycophant there is room for the sober citizen who is always ready to praise government officers for work well done, giving a worthy reward for it, but who is equally ready to resist any attempt to usurp the authority which belongs to all the people.

All history seems to attest that man naturally likes to be *ruled*. He prefers a benevolent reign, but all too often is willing to sacrifice freedom for security. Israel of old cried for a king, though the prophet warned the nation what the price would be. The prospect of military glory and the material rewards of successful warfare closed the people's eyes to the cost and made them forget they were asking for servitude.

It demands hard work to preserve civil and religious liberty. Supine wishing never won or kept freedom.

It is better to thwart all attempts to enslave us in body or soul than to trust to fate to deliver us after fetters have been forged. Only the strong heart deserves to be free.

It is no injustice to demand that those whom we elect to office be made to understand that they are bound by the eternal principles of our Constitution; that they are chosen to exalt these in action and not merely praise them in words.

H. H. V.

Infallibility in Church and State

A CHURCH WHICH CLAIMS infallibility, and a state which claims infallibility proceed along the same lines. Both believe in the exercise of absolute authority. They are simply the opposite faces on the same coin. Both deny that the individual has any rights that cannot be abridged or invaded. Both deny the free exercise of the conscience of the individual in the realm of religion. Both exercise absolute power in the brutal repression of all independent opinion. Both deny that civil or ecclesiastical power is derived from the people. Both hold that the individual is the creature of the superior power—it is abject and voiceless subservient slave.

Neither can brook opposition. The absolute state believes in government by a single political party and suspends the functions of all opposing political parties. The infallible church believes in a single church and denounces all other religious dissenting and nonconformist groups as heretical and beyond the pale of salvation. The power of an absolute state is always centered in a dictator, and the authoritarianism of an absolute church is always centered in an infallible ecclesiastic. Both are oversensitive to opposition from any source, no matter how arbitrary and unjust their decisions. Opposition must be suppressed with violence—no matter whether the ruler wears a political or an ecclesiastical label.

The only conflict that arises between these two absolute powers is that each claims the supremacy in all things, both civil and spiritual. Both deny that the individual has any inherent, God-given, inalienable rights either in secular or in religious things, and therefore each seeks to exercise dominant power in both temporal and heavenly matters. The individual is a mere automaton to do the bidding of a supreme state or a supreme church in all things. Both are totalitarian in all domains and in all functions of state and church and in all responsibilities and activities of life. Each seeks to control, restrict, administer, and regiment all life's activities from the cradle to the grave. Individual responsibility and initiative is denied, and all people are to think and act alike as a unit for the sake of preserving the unity of the state and the oneness of the church. Uniformity and conformity at all costs are the objectives of both. Neither believes in a bill of human rights or a constitutional form of government in which the representatives of the state or the church derive their

powers from the consent of the governed. Both believe in a government of men instead of a government by law. That is tyranny, and means oppression, persecution, and intolerance for all dissenters and nonconformists. This World War was fought and won to set the people free from dictators and ecclesiastics who claimed the right to exercise absolute authority in all things and to establish the equality of all religions and equal justice and freedom for all people, and above all, the freedom of the individual conscience in the domain of religion. C. S. L.

Government Aid and Mission Propaganda

ON THE SAME PAGE of *America*, of October 6, 1945, in the section called "Comment on the Week," are two paragraphs. One is entitled "Federal Aid and Civil Liberties"; the other, "Mission Propaganda in Schools." We quote from the latter first:

"What the propagation of the Faith is doing to spread interest in the foreign missions among priests and people, the Catholic Students' Mission Crusade . . . has begun to do for the parochial schools. Its Mission Study Leaflets for grades 5-6 and 7-8 are admirably adapted for parochial school pupils. They are brief (four pages), illustrated, and excitingly interesting. As a start, the Crusade prepared an Introduction to Mission Study and three leaflets on Missions in the Islands of the Pacific and four on South America. But the complete plan calls for studies on all grade levels and on all mission fields. . . . The idea is so good that it should quickly spread to every Catholic school at whatever level all over the country."

We have no objection whatsoever to our Catholic friends doing this. We are free to admit that they would doubtless be unfaithful to their beliefs if they did not do it. But we believe they ought to support the schools where this kind of propaganda is carried on, and not ask Federal aid for them. And what we say about the Catholics in this respect applies equally forcefully to the Seventh-day Adventists, the Lutherans, the Episcopalians, or any others who operate denominational schools.

We turn now to the other paragraph we mentioned above, which is entitled "Federal Aid and Civil Liberties," and find this sentence: "*The real snare for our American liberties is the hidden hand of those who oppose Government help for nonpublic schools.*" (Italics ours.)

Our Catholic friends are becoming pretty bold when they charge that those who oppose the appropriating of public funds for sectarian purposes con-

stitute "the real snare for our American liberties." Those who voice such opposition happen to have the support of the founders of this nation—men like Jefferson and Madison—and the all but universal approval of the constitutions of the States of the Union. Let us not be blind to the fact that the abuses which have crept in by the use of tax funds to support various religious organizations led to the laws that are now on our statute books, and we pray God they may never be taken off.

We do not want to appear carpingly critical, but we think it ought to be very plain to anyone that if government money is appropriated to Catholic schools, it will be used for the propagation of the Catholic faith. The only reason for operating church schools is a religious one. The public schools of the land give adequate instruction in all secular subjects. *America*, in its issue of September 29, 1945, has this to say: "Religion's all or nothing" is the Catholic basis for insisting on religion in education. This means that education is a fake without religion." We think we have heard all the arguments advanced by various groups in favor of denominational schools, and when they are carefully analyzed, it is perfectly apparent that the propagation and preservation of religious beliefs are the only justification for such schools.

We think the editors of *America* failed to realize how careless they were in asserting that "the real snare for our American liberties is the hidden hand of those who oppose Government help for nonpublic schools" and printing on the same page the plan to flood "every Catholic school at whatever level all over the country" with Mission Study Leaflets, to arouse the interest of even the children in the propagation of the Catholic faith. We have tried to be clear enough in what we have said so that no one will think that our hand is hidden. We are happy to put it out so everybody can see that we are fighting in what we believe to be a just and wholly American cause.

H. H. V.

Which Principle Is Wrong?

SOME OF OUR READERS have felt that we give too much space to opposing the use of public funds for private and church schools. Our apology, if one is needed, is that those who are seeking to break down the long-established and well-grounded American custom of not appropriating tax monies to any sectarian institutions never let up in their fight to secure public funds for purely sectarian use.

One of the journals which comes to our desk says this: "If we are upholding a really democratic system—and not just a blatantly secularist one—then Federal monies which comes from all of the people

by way of taxes should be used for the benefit of all the people. And so if Federal aid is to be given to education, it is *wrong in principle* to allocate it to public education alone."

A sufficient answer to this is that all citizens, whether they have any children to send to school or not, are taxed for the support of the state's educational system. Those unfortunate married folk who have never been blessed with children, those whose families have grown and who consequently no longer profit by the public school system, those bachelors and bachelor girls who have no children—all these pay taxes. We have never heard of their asking to be excused from paying their proper share for the support of the public schools. This is a sufficient answer, to our mind, to the charge that everybody who is taxed has to get some direct benefit from the taxation. There is such a thing as paying taxes for the good of the whole people.

The bald assertion that "it is wrong in principle" to give public funds to public schools hardly needs a reply. There is not a scintilla of reason or justice for doing anything else with public funds. To force all the people to pay taxes and then give any or all of the monies thus raised to one group to aid it in fostering the interests of its particular religious belief is really "wrong in principle."

From another issue of the same journal from which our first quotation was taken, we offer our readers this: "Religious liberty is being kept a piping hot issue by our Protestant brethren—religious liberty at least for themselves and especially, at the moment, religious liberty without limit on the South American front. But on the home front, for Catholics! Well, there are penalties attached and well-defined limits." The rest of the unsigned, brief article is devoted to the matter of getting public funds for Catholic schools. Among other things it says that the Protestants "in effect . . . maintain that if Catholics want their own schools, let them pay the bill in full. It makes no difference that this means double taxation. It makes no difference that this means paying a heavy penalty for the religious liberty guaranteed by the Constitution and vindicated by the Supreme Court."

How anybody can claim that refusal to use public monies for sectarian purposes constitutes an infringement of religious liberty is utterly beyond the comprehension of this poor editor. Those who oppose using public funds for such purposes are charged with the most gross dishonesty in these words: "They know perfectly well that separation of church and state is not the real issue." We disagree with those who clamor for public funds for sectarian use, but we do not charge them with dishonesty. We think a man could be mistaken and still be honest. But

evidently a little love of money is the root of a great evil in the thinking of some of our citizens. As a matter of simple fact, the writer does not have the support of all his coreligionists. Many Catholics believe and say that neither their church nor any other should receive public money for their schools.

In an editorial entitled "Church and Federal Aid," the same journal in still another issue says: "It is gratuitous and false to say that Federal aid to nonpublic schools would mean 'an establishment of religion.' . . . The plain fact is that the slogan 'Separation of Church and State' in respect to Federal aid is, like 'clerical politics,' just another cheapjack phrase used to sell an exclusively public school bill of goods to the Government."

Tut, tut! The heat generated doesn't shed any light on the subject. The persistence with which the claim is made impresses us as being inspired by the determination to break down opposition, no matter what the cost.

H. H. V.

Religious Teaching in Public Schools

LAST YEAR a patron of an Illinois school brought a suit to prevent the teaching of religion on schooltime. Evidently because there is a very widespread demand for some kind of religious instruction to be given in connection with the public schools of the country, if not in the classrooms themselves, this suit has attracted much attention. Newspapers in all parts of the country have carried dispatches reporting on the progress of the suit. At the time this is being written the case has not yet been decided. It is reported that no matter what the decision of the Illinois courts may be, the United States Supreme Court will be eventually asked to consider the question further. We think the Supreme Court of the United States has generally refused to hear similar suits on the ground that it is not a Federal but a State issue, since the public schools are under the direction of the States in which they are located.

We believe that the editor of one of the Christian journals of the country was right when he said that all released time projects stand in a "precarious legal position." It would be helpful if the Supreme Court would consider the principle involved in the matter of teaching religion in the public schools. We are convinced that those who are pressing for what is now called "released time" *will not finally be satisfied* with that.

An Associated Press dispatch from Nashville, Tennessee, on June 15 last, said that "initial steps in preparation of a Bible outline for use by Tennessee high schools in proposed religious-education courses are being taken by the State department of education

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on a 'strictly nondenominational basis.' . . . Representatives from all religious denominations in the State will be invited to suggest material for the Bible syllabus."

It is reported that Chattanooga has a plan for teaching Bible in the schools, and that the churches select the teachers. Whether or not the churches pay for them is not apparent from the newspaper articles that we have seen.

Memphis has appointed a committee with a Presbyterian minister as the chairman. This committee is endeavoring to recommend a syllabus "covering the Old and New Testaments to be used as a basis for the examination which students will take to validate Bible study in the Sunday schools of their choice."

The method most favored in Memphis is what is called the Dallas plan. Under this arrangement the teaching is given by the various churches in the Sunday schools, but credit is given by the school toward graduation. The text used in the churches, however, as we understand it, must be the course prepared for the schools. Supplementary material may be used. Pupils desiring credits must finally "pass an examination held under the auspices of the board of education."

During the discussion in Memphis one man, speaking for the plan, said, "We think churches would benefit greatly from this course by having better-prepared Sunday school teachers." This argument we have not seen before. We have come to a pretty pass when the Sunday schools cannot prepare teachers and must rely upon public school education to give them teachers on religious subjects.

We have suspected for a long time that those who are pressing for religion to be taught in the public schools had something more in mind than mere moral training. The quotation we have just given rather confirms our opinion.

A well-known divine who recently died gave many years of his life and wrote a large book to foster and further the idea of religious teaching in the public schools. One of his friends, writing in a Christian journal in eulogy of him, said that his activities were confined almost entirely to one thing, "that of the Bible in the public schools, or more definitely, the Bible and moral and religious instruction in public education."

It is not often that the matter is thus boldly and baldly stated. We repeat what we have said so often before, we sympathize with those who are alarmed over the increase of delinquency among the youth and the lack of moral fiber so often found in places least expected. But we are as confident as we can be that the public school cannot do what the church and the home fail to do.

H. H. V.

FIRST QUARTER

Religious Test for Candidates for Public Office

THE ADVERTISEMENT which we reproduce from the Warren, Ohio, *Tribune* of November 5, 1945, is to us very significant. The unthinking may feel that the church folk of Trumbull County, Ohio, have found a way to secure the best public servants. But we think that these good people are seeking to do by indirection what the Constitution of the United States evidently sought to avoid. This charter of our freedom says, in Article VI, "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

Our readers will notice that in the pledge which the candidates were asked to sign there is this very striking form of "recall." Each pledges that "in the event I am elected to the office which I seek, and, in the judgment of a committee of five representative churchmen of Trumbull County, my administration of the office is knowingly and willingly in violation of this pledge, I agree to resign and vacate the office."

We thought the Dark Ages were past. We had no idea that "churchmen" would ever feel called upon in this land, where church and state are supposed to be separate, to decide whether a man must resign from office or not. We understand that in the old days they did not give a man a chance to resign; he was simply tossed out. Maybe we are a little more refined in allowing an officeholder to resign if churchmen do not happen to like what he is doing.

We do not want our readers to misunderstand us. This editor belongs to a church and attends services regularly. He has great confidence in God-fearing people. He believes that such folk should exercise the franchise, which is the heritage of all Americans. But he happens to know good men, honest men—men of the old stamp, whose word is as good as their bond—who would give a good account of themselves in public office, but who do not belong to any church and would resent the idea of having to sign their names to a "Christian pledge," a pledge addressed to the churches. Such men would recognize their obligation to administer government in harmony with the law and the Constitution, whether asked to do so by churchmen or by a gathering of infidels. One of the most ardent patriots of our Revolutionary times was Thomas Paine, an avowed skeptic. Others of the leaders had grave doubts about the claims that the churches of their day made.

The good public servant recognizes his obligation to carry out the provisions of the law or to legislate in harmony with the Constitution without giving a particular pledge to any class of citizens. He recognizes that he is the servant of all classes, regardless of religious belief or no religious belief. There are

ATTENTION PLEASE -- CHURCH PEOPLE

It is not the desire of the Church to "pick sides" in any Political Campaign, But . . .

We are interested in making and keeping Warren a decent place in which to live.

We are interested in electing public officials that are mindful of God and Church and the cleaner habits of life.

We are interested in keeping those not Church Minded out of Public Office.

In order that this might be accomplished, the city candidates that are to be elected to office Tuesday, November 6, 1945, were all asked to make a written Christian Pledge to the Churches of Trumbull County.

For their convenience, the following pledge was prepared, printed in blanks, and delivered to them with an explanation of same.

Ample time was given them to return their pledge.

An additional supply of blank pledges was delivered to the County Chairmen with the request that they see that each candidate sign a pledge and return it.

And still further, a supply was left with Judge Griffith and also with Judge Birrell for the candidate's convenience.

COPY OF PLEDGE PRESENTED TO CANDIDATES MY PLEDGE

Date October 10, 1945
To the Churches of Trumbull County, State of Ohio
I, the undersigned, candidate for election to the office of Councilman
in the City of Warren County of Trumbull
State of Ohio, hereby certify to my belief in God and the
Christian concepts of morality and human relations, and, I pledge the practice of same
in the administration of the office which I seek, in the event I shall be elected.
I further certify that, as an application of my convictions is accord with the
following statement, I will, if elected to the office which I seek, literally perform the
oath of office, and use the full extent of authority invested in me, to:
1. Enforce the criminal laws.
2. Enforce punishment for all immoral or illegal conduct brought to my
knowledge or attention.
I will not cause or permit the corruption of said office by the acceptance of bribes
or otherwise by me, or my deputies or appointees, if any, to the end that the City of
Warren and the County of Trumbull in
the State of Ohio may be made a better place in which to live.
In the event I am elected to the office which I seek, and, in the judgment of a
committee of five representative church men of Trumbull County,
my administration of the office is knowingly and wilfully in violation of this pledge,
I agree to resign and vacate the office.
Witnesses:
John Doe Richard Roe A. Candidate
State of Ohio Trumbull County, ss:
A. Candidate, being first duly sworn, upon his oath says that he
is the candidate who signed the foregoing pledge, and that the above statements have
been made in good faith and as a pledge to the Christian people of Trumbull
County to abide thereby.
Ch. M. Notary
Notary Public

The following candidates were all asked
to make a Christian Pledge to the Churches.

The names marked with a dot "•" in
front of them are the ones who returned
written Christian Pledges.

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| • Henry C. Wagner | • H. Reid Jones |
| Edward C. Kaley | Jack G. Flask |
| • Reynard Nill | • W. Curtis Helman |
| • George G. Johnson | Michael J. Ryan |
| • Maurice E. Hillman | • G. Howard Lafferty |
| • Donald J. DelBene | Leon Faroga |
| • John K. Mahaney | • T. R. McBride |
| • W. A. James | • Abbie Crumley |
| • John Beskid | Frank Fabrizio |
| • Carl L. Konold | • Frank Willard Hakes |
| Andrew J. Dittmar | Raymond J. Little |
| • Marion D. Lea | • George A. Job |
| • Clarence E. Spahr | John F. Davis |

Heretofore, We had to trust that we
were voting for the better persons.

This year we have written pledges to the effect that certain candidates are
mindful of God and Church and those cleaner habits of life.

If they are willing to show their faith in us we most certainly are obligated to
GET OUT AND VOTE FOR THEM NEXT TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1945.

Sponsored by Warren Churches and Church Men's Clubs.

Pol. Adv.

W. HOLT.

altogether too many pressure groups in the United States. Every man in a legislative post, whether in the Federal Congress or in State legislatures, or even in town councils, has at some time or another to meet the demands of those who want particular favors or the enactment of favoring legislation.

We would like to think that the churches of Trumbull County and their leaders would never ask that religious laws be enacted or enforced. But from a good deal of observation we have reached the conclusion that too often when Christian congregations enter the political arena there is a recrudescence of persecution.

Fifty years ago three Protestant clergymen addressed a priest in their community, inviting him to attend a meeting of the ministers in the lecture room of one of the Protestant churches to assist them in their efforts to secure the enforcement by civil authorities of a certain religious document. The priest's reply, while too long for inclusion here, has some very significant statements which we commend to all churchmen who are tempted to mix religion and politics. After the opening salutation the priest said:

"In reply, I would beg leave to say that, whilst fully appreciating the courtesy extended me as a clergyman residing in the county, I am at a loss to conjecture whether the invitation may be regarded as referring to me as a citizen or clergyman, or as both combined. . . .

"Holding no office under the civil law, whether as judge, magistrate, sheriff, squire, bailiff, constable, detective, or spy, paid or unpaid, I could not help regarding myself otherwise than as an officious intermeddler in the legitimate business of the proper officers appointed to execute the laws, and who would very naturally regard my action as a gratuitous piece of interference in their legitimate calling.

"The above officials under county commissioners are the responsible officers entrusted with the duty of taking due cognizance of all . . . violations, and, doubtless, are as willing and ready as they are competent to bring all violators of the law to condign punishment. Hence, as a citizen of this great Republic, I am amenable to the laws enacted by the people's representation for the benefit and happiness of the masses, and as one of the number, I highly appreciate and duly enjoy with undisguised gratitude the temporal blessings assured to every law-abiding citizen under that glorious flag of ours, which is the synonym of that genuine and plenary liberty attainable nowhere else on this planet.

"Nevertheless, as a citizen, neither the holder of,

nor aspirant to, any office, State or Federal, I am happy and contented in the role of a private individual, neither invited nor aspiring to a participation in the control or management of public offices. Nor does my position as a recognized minister of the Christian religion seem to call for or warrant any such interference. I hold in such esteem the divine calling I so unworthily represent that I would never, during my long life, avail myself of the right to register my vote for one or other political party. . . .

"It is not, then, with me a question of right, but one of expedience as to whether I could consent to mire my priestly robes in the turbid and foul waters of muddy politics. . . .

"As representatives of Christianity, we occupy a very questionable, nay, highly mortifying position, viz.: to be obliged to acknowledge that the moral power of the Christian religion is lamentably inadequate to reform, measurably, at least, the morals of its votaries, without having recourse to the aid and interference of the civil law by imposing civil pains and penalties."

There has been much said and much written about a union of church and state with the state in control. It is just as bad, if not even worse, to have a union of church and state with the church in control.

H. H. V.

NEWS and COMMENT

THE *New York Times* of October 5, 1945, carried a wireless dispatch from its Tokyo correspondent, reporting that General MacArthur had given orders to "remove restrictions on political, civil, and religious liberties and discrimination on grounds of race, nationality, creed, or political opinion."

It may be that the Japanese, who have been so long subject to authoritarian-totalitarian government will not know how to use wisely and well these new freedoms. But undoubtedly General MacArthur was right in striking at the restrictions which have bound the people of Japan so long and made them little better than slaves to a military dictatorship.

IN ONE OF THE ISSUES of the *American Lutheran* last year, Fred H. Lindemann had an article entitled "Christmas in the Public Schools." It is much too long for reproduction in our journal, but it contains some valuable reasoning.

Mr. Lindemann begins by referring to a protest made by a rabbi of Kingston, New York, to the local school board because "sectarian religious instruction" was being given in the public school, his own children having been taught Christmas carols containing Christian thoughts and doctrine.

On the Opposite Page is a Facsimile Reproduction of the Advertisement Referred to in This Article

FIRST QUARTER

He also refers to a report that in one of the public schools in western New York "a pageant, 'Lights of the World,' was presented in which a cast of Christian and Jewish children together celebrated the Hanukkah and Christmas." It appears that neither Jews nor Christians objected to this union in pageantry of two things vastly different in religious significance.

Mr. Lindemann takes issue with the idea that when American boys of various faiths fight side by side for religious freedom, their purpose is to break down anyone's strong convictions concerning what he believes to be right or wrong.

He further objects to having the public schools teach that the only real way for people to be tolerant is to believe that the other man's opinions are as right as one's own, and says:

"It is high time for our people to be taught that to practice tolerance is to know very definitely that I am right, that my neighbor is wrong as wrong can be, and yet to permit him to practice his religion without the slightest interference. . . . The freedom for which our boys are fighting is not the freedom to use Christian taxes in maintaining a public institution which teaches Jewish traditions and presents a pageant which has as its declared purpose to teach Christian children 'a realization that basically our religions are the same, our goals identical, though paths we take differ.' The freedom for which we are fighting is that the Jew and the Christian and the Buddhist and the Turk be permitted to practice his religion in his home and in his place of worship, and even in the public square and the subway if he does not interfere with the rights of others, and that unhindered and without interference. Tolerance means that I may differ, I may know that I am right and the other man wrong, I may think and know that I am utterly right and he utterly and hopelessly wrong, and that yet I do not interfere with his wrong practice as long as it does not interfere with what he must consider my wrong practice, my rights and privileges. Freedom can never mean that the Jew is free to teach his religion to Christian children in a public institution or that the Christian is free to teach his religion to Jewish children in a public institution."

Well said.

FROM AN EXCHANGE we clipped the following:

RELEASED TIME DISRUPTS SCHOOL PROGRAM SERIOUSLY

"From San Gabriel, California, comes the news that the school board has denied the Alhambra District Inter-Faith Committee permission to conduct

released-time religious training classes this year. The school superintendent wrote to the preacher who is chairman of the church committee that 'it was the consensus of the board that dismissing part of the students to leave the school ground was so disrupting to the program that regular classwork was not possible for the remaining pupils. Consequently, from a teaching standpoint, this amounted to one hour lost out of the regular school day.' He assured the churchmen that the school board heartily supports religious training but feels that such training should be carried on outside of regular school hours."

IT IS ALWAYS painful to have to record the failures of friends. We often wish that our task of pointing out tendencies that threaten the well-being of our nation might be assumed by another. It is particularly distressing to call attention to the misconceptions and mistakes of good people. But it must be done. Even well-meaning but misguided pious folks must be warned against walking in paths that can only lead to the evils that the founders of this Republic sought to avoid.

The Baptists have a great heritage. Perhaps no other denomination approaches them in the history of opposition to anything that smacks of a union of church and state. We do not want to speak bitterly, and we recognize that being human we always have to deal gently with human frailties, but the following, which appeared in the *Atlanta Constitution* of October 25, 1945, makes us sad:

"About four hundred ministers and laymen from ninety-two churches in the Atlanta Association of Baptist Churches went on record yesterday against what they termed desecration of the Sabbath by fairs, rodeos, and other forms of Sunday entertainment.

"Meeting in the Capitol View Baptist Church, they passed the following resolution:

"Realizing that unless our Christian people assert their influence unitedly, soon the Lord's day will be no more than any other day, and realizing that our forefathers set aside this day for the worship of God and real service to humanity;

"Our association goes on record and pledges to our law-enforcement officers our full support and asks for full enforcement of all laws governing the Lord's day.

"As we deplore the continued violations such as the Sunday of the fair and other violations there during the year, the recent circus and rodeo, Sunday baseball, Sunday movies, and swimming pools;

"We call upon our people to properly observe our Lord's day and to let our officers know we are fully behind them in the enforcement thereof.

"That a copy of this resolution be sent to our chief of police, sheriff, and to the daily papers."

Not only is it bad for the Baptists to turn to the civil arm to enforce their religious beliefs, but it is very bad when any religious institution or practice has to be supported by some means other than the preaching of the Word of God by those who believe.

THE LOS ANGELES *Times* of September 21, 1945, carried a news item to the effect that an attorney, George S. Gordon, had asked the city Board of Education "to refrain from permitting the release of pupils from school for religious instruction," claiming that the program "exerted social pressure on children of immature years."

Mr. Gordon said that he was following recognized legal procedure when he called on the board to discontinue the program that had been in effect, and said that if the board refused his request, he would "take steps to seek a writ of mandate in superior court," believing that the released-time plan was "contrary to the Constitution and the laws of California."

CONSIDERABLE CONTROVERSY was provoked in the little town of Solen, Sioux County, North Dakota, when schoolteachers who belong to a religious order whose members wear a distinctive garb were hired to teach in the public schools.

The *Bismarck* (North Dakota) *Tribune* of September 14 last reported that certain members of the school board resigned and that some new ones were appointed to take their places. The *Tribune* says: "Meanwhile, four members of the religious order, whose hiring by the board precipitated the dispute, have withdrawn from their contracts and have returned to Milwaukee, Wisconsin."

The deputy State superintendent of public instruction reported that "he had been informed that the Solen school board would hire lay teachers for the term."

THE *Christian Century* of October 3, 1945, carries a paragraph from its correspondent in Memphis, Tennessee, that we think will interest our readers. While it does not bear on the question of religious liberty, it shows how laws conceived in intolerance may work grave hardship. We quote:

"Burgin Dossett, State commissioner of education, has appointed E. A. Waters, co-ordinator of university research at the University of Tennessee, to direct an over-all survey of the State's educational system.

Mr. Dossett is receiving many protests against the denial to Mrs. Ingrid McFadden, teacher at Norris for eight years, of a State certificate. Someone has invoked the antinaturalization law, . . . which declares that only 'native-born Americans of the Caucasian race who have spoken the English language since childhood' may teach in Tennessee. Mrs. McFadden, born in Norway, was brought here when she was two and was naturalized as soon as the law permitted."

A person born in another land than ours may aspire to any elective post in the United States except that of President. But a law in Tennessee prohibits a woman, born in Norway—land of freedom and fine character—from teaching in the public schools of that State. The law is a disgrace. It ought to be repealed.

IN NOVEMBER, 1944, Common Pleas Judge Joseph H. Woeste, of Cincinnati, gave permission to one Max Kut to pursue a claim against the Ohio Board of Unemployment Compensation, which had denied relief to Kut, an orthodox Jew, who had quit his job in a chain store because the employer demanded that he work on Saturdays. Because Kut would not take jobs that required Saturday work even when they were offered to him, the Bureau of Unemployment Compensation held that he was not eligible for benefits ordinarily approved by the bureau. Judge Woeste ruled that the bureau's regulation was unconstitutional because it denied "redress to conscientious members of religious faiths who observe the seventh day of the week (Saturday) as their Sabbath."

A news item in the *Columbus* (Ohio) *Dispatch* of Wednesday, October 31, 1945, says: "The Ohio Supreme Court will pass upon the question of whether an unemployed worker is entitled to unemployment compensation when employment is refused because of religious scruples. The court Wednesday admitted for review a Cincinnati case in which Max Kut, a former employee of Albers Supermarkets [had] his services . . . terminated when union seniority rules prohibited his promotion and he subsequently refused two other positions because it required his services on Saturday which he, in accordance with his religious beliefs, had observed as his Sabbath."

The Board of Review denied Kut's claim, the Common Pleas Court reversed the board, and the Appellate Court upheld the Board of Review, holding that "compensation benefits cannot be claimed by a worker because of conscientious scruples, while physically and mentally able to work."

Kut's case is not the only one that has been brought to the attention of the Ohio Bureau of Unemploy-

ment Compensation. There is a Seventh-day Adventist woman of Batavia, Ohio, whose case is parallel to Kut's. We believe she has not sought relief in the courts, but would benefit if the Supreme Court of Ohio should decide in Kut's favor. We shall be interested in learning this court's opinion.

USING AS AUTHORITY a law that dates back almost a century and which says, "All labor on Sunday is prohibited, excepting the works of necessity and charity. In works of necessity or charity is included whatever is needful during the day for the good order, health, or comfort of the community," the police of Rochester, New York, arrested two men who were shingling a roof one Sunday morning last October.

We personally think that since the bulk of people in Rochester are Sunday observers, it would have been considerate of their neighbors for these men to have refrained from noisy work on Sunday. But as a matter of simple fact, the only thing to distinguish Sunday from any working day is its religious significance, and we hold that religious laws have no place on civil statute books.

From the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle* we learn that on the same Sunday complaints were made about men repairing automobiles or painting them with spray guns. These stopped their work when warned by the police. Putting on a roof may be noisy, but painting an automobile ought not to disturb anybody's religious devotions.

IN OUR ISSUE for the first quarter of last year we quoted an editorial from *Collier's* commenting on the controversy between *Esquire* and the Postmaster General of the United States over the granting of second-class mail privileges to that magazine.

On June 5, 1945, the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia reversed the order of Postmaster General Walker refusing to allow *Esquire* to benefit by the low postage rates granted to other magazines. Mr. Walker held that *Esquire* is "basically objectionable," and did not meet the requirements set by law for the use of second-class mail. The Court of Appeals, in reversing Mr. Walker's order, commented, "We hope that this is the last time a Government agency will attempt to compel acceptance of its literary or moral standards relating to material admittedly not obscene."

In September last, Harold Judson, assistant solicitor general of the Department of Justice, appealed to the Supreme Court for a reversal of the lower court's decision. On October 22 the Supreme Court granted the petition for writ of certiorari.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS from Washington sent out a report on October 6, 1945, that "the United States has decided to abolish Shintoism as a state religion in Japan." "This measure, one of the most drastic yet determined upon in remaking Japan into a peaceful nation, will not affect Shintoism 'in so far as it is a religion of individual Japanese,'" the official announcement stated. "However, the cult is to lose its government support, its special taxes, and its place in the schools of Japan." It is stated that this policy was announced by "John Carter Vincent, chief of Far Eastern Affairs" at the State Department, who said that "all those special privileges which Shintoism had as a state religion are 'to be done away with.' The state religion has been regarded as one of the powerful controls which Japan's militarist leaders exercised over their people."

We trust that religious leaders and reformers who have been seeking Government support for their religious institutions in the United States will set a better example for the Japanese people who are overzealous about Shintoism, and that they will withdraw all requests and nullify all legal steps already taken to obtain tax funds for the support of their brand of religion.

FOR A LONG TIME Pennsylvania Sunday laws were at least as rigid as any that could be found in the country at large. Some years ago the legislature of that State provided for the holding of referenda in places where there were movements to liberalize some of the ancient religious laws. Such a referendum was held in Harrisburg in the November election.

The *Patriot*, a newspaper of the Keystone State's capital, carried as its leading editorial on September 10, 1945, "Votes Are the Killing Weapons," which opens thus:

"Sunday movies in this city will be defeated at the November polls not by pious wishes but by sane and strenuous strategy and tactics. The opposition recognizes this fact by its appeal to all unregistered citizens to get on the voters' list before next Saturday, the last day for enrollment.

"That is a move much more calculated to defeat an attack on the Sabbath than musings and meditation. The way to kill the Sunday movies proposal is with votes. . . .

"Happily this is not an issue split by sectarianism or denominationalism. Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish spokesmen have all denounced the Sunday movie proposal as injurious to the best interests of the community. . . .

"Nothing is so calculated to arouse the fighting spirit of a people as the threat of losing something they cherish. That is the threat today to those who

accept the command to 'remember the Sabbath and keep it holy.'"

We are not greatly impressed with the editor's quoting of the Scriptures. It appears to us that one who relies upon them for authority, and who argues so earnestly for the protection of "Sabbath" observance by civil law ought at least to know his commandment as the Bible gives it.

We hold no brief for Sunday movies or any other movies. As a matter of fact, we never see them. We have been disappointed whenever in the past we have succumbed to the lure of advertising propaganda and seen one. Our mental pictures satisfy us better than those shown on the screen. But we have no desire to forbid to others what we do not happen to like.

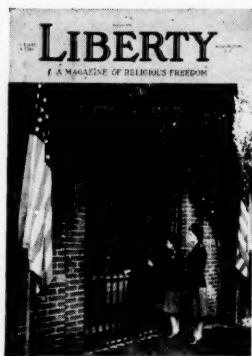
Of course the people of Harrisburg have a perfect right to limit the showing of movies if their general influence is evil, if they promote immorality or seem to approve of crime. But if they are bad, why not have them stopped every day in the week? The sum of the whole matter is that Sunday laws are religious laws. No one need be deceived by the claim that they are merely welfare laws. The frankness of the editor of the *Patriot* is to be commended because he plainly says he is trying to get protection, by the civil power, for the day he calls the Sabbath. We want everybody who desires to keep Sunday to do so. We think, however, that any service to God must come wholly from the heart of the individual and that it is degrading to anything spiritual to have it more or less depend upon the power of the state.

Our Cover for This Quarter

WE TRUST our readers will appreciate this recent view of the tomb of Washington. It was taken a little over a year ago by one of our own photographers. At that time many thousands of servicemen and servicewomen were among the visitors to Mount Vernon. Our picture shows two officers of the Women's Army Corps standing before the tomb of America's first great president.

This family burial site on the Mount Vernon estate was selected by Washington a few months before his death. The vault was completed in 1831, and the transfer was made then from the old vault, a short distance away. The old burial vault has been restored and retained as a point of interest.

FIRST QUARTER



The Red Cross Battle Goes On

FOR YOUR MEN OVERSEAS, your men in hospitals, your veterans, for war's victims. In 1945 4,600 Red Crossers served in 1,320 clubs and recreation centers overseas, 4,381 Red Cross domestic hospital workers aided servicemen in hospitals, and 450,000 veterans' claims were handled by local Red Cross chapters. When tragedies occur, Red Cross disaster workers are on the scene immediately. They feed, clothe, and shelter the needy victims, give medical care to the injured, and stay at their side during the long period of rehabilitation.

Since Pearl Harbor 500,000 victims of domestic disasters were given food, clothing, shelter, and medical care. \$7,200,000 was spent in meeting their needs.

1,400,000 Home Nursing, 700,000 Nutrition, and 1,200,000 Water Safety certificates were issued.

3,000,000 women served in Volunteer Special Services . . . as Nurse's Aides, Gray Ladies, and in the Production Corps, as well as in many other worthwhile wartime activities.

35,000,000 articles for servicemen were made by the members of the American Junior Red Cross.

Over 13,000,000 pints of blood were collected for the armed forces by the Red Cross.

27,000,000 parcels were packed for prisoners of war by the Red Cross.

Remember the 1946 Red Cross Fund Campaign and help with your contribution.



AMERICAN STATE PAPERS *on Freedom in Religion*

★ ★ REVISED EDITION ★ ★

American State Papers is an invaluable reference work that contains the essential facts concerning the development of the American principle of complete separation of church and state and absolute religious liberty. It gives a summary of religious laws, both in colonial times and since the founding of the nation.

Samples of the rigors of religious laws are cited, including the punishments for blasphemy in the different colonies. Perhaps in no other respect is the character of the forefathers revealed more clearly than in the letters they wrote, upholding religious liberty in the face of the severest persecutions.

Most Americans will be surprised to learn how many restrictions of complete religious liberty are found in the different state constitutions. Records are given of many interesting cases decided by the courts, in which the question of separation of church and state and complete religious freedom are involved. The current issue of public funds for private school aid is considered in the closing chapter.

Anyone who is interested in either speaking or writing on the subject of religious liberty and the separation of church and state will find this new, revised volume invaluable.



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